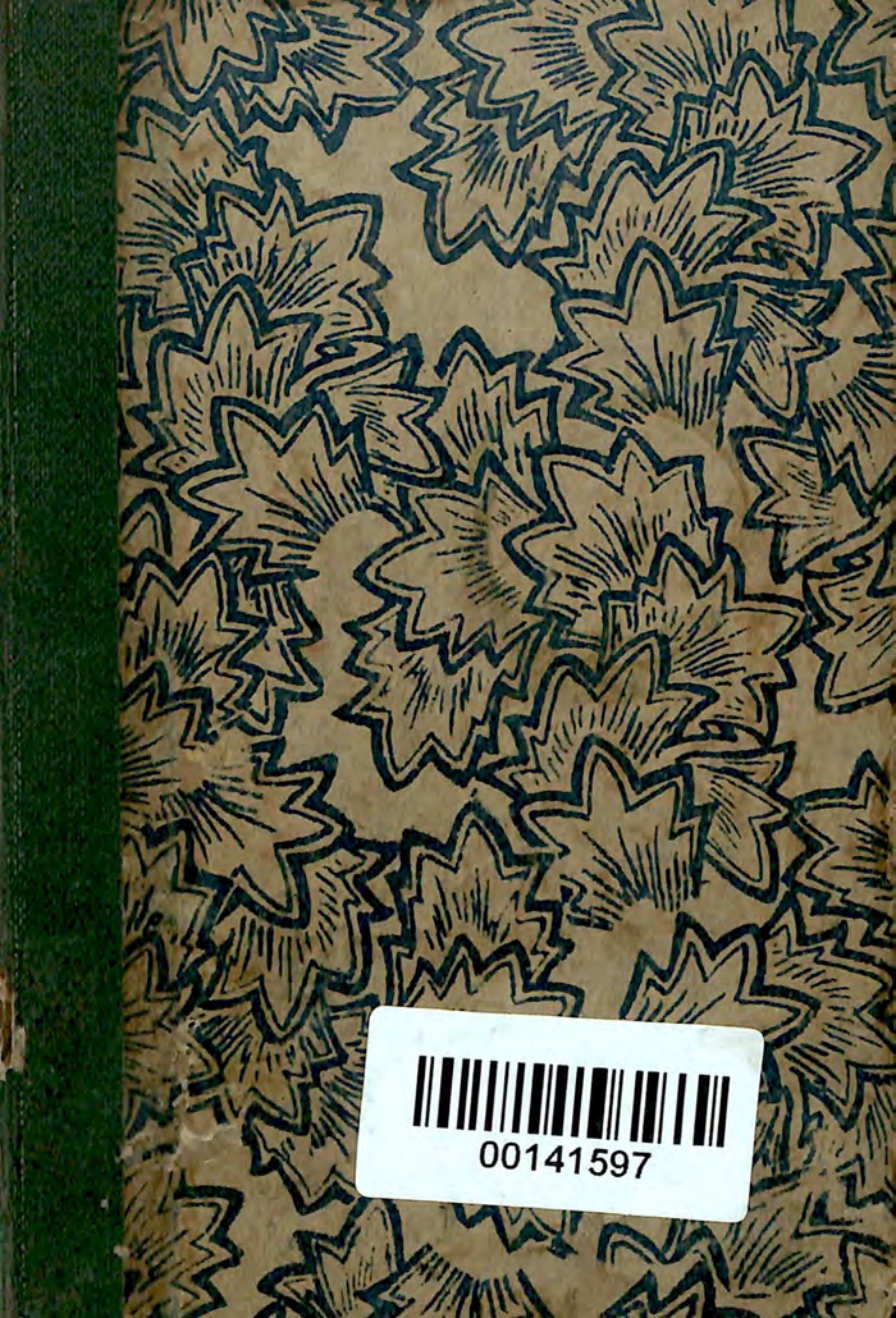
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PARALLEL LIVES.

PARALLEL LIVES

OF

ANCIENT AND MODERN HEROES:

OF

EPAMINONDAS
PHILIP OF MACEDON } AND { GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
FREDERIC THE GREAT.

BY

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NOTICE.

The chief authorities for the following sketches, besides the classical authors, are Thirlwall's and Grote's Histories of Greece, Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus, Coxe's House of Austria, Schiller's Thirty Years' War, Lord Dover's Life of Frederic the Great, Campbell's Life of Frederic the Great, Frederic's own Memoirs, the Memoirs of the Margravine of Bayreuth, and the Memoirs of the Prince de Ligne.

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EPAMINONDAS, THE THEBAN,

AND

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

THE

LIFE OF EPAMINONDAS,

THE THEBAN.

THE ample learning and large views with which both the history of ancient times and that of our own country have of late been written, afford the modern reader facilities for applying himself to such studies in a right spirit and a profitable manner, which were hardly attainable by a former generation. However, the field of what may be called comparative history, bringing ancient and modern times and nations into juxtaposition, is still almost untouched; though it would appear to be not the least beneficial, and certainly not the least entertaining, portion of the subject; while the easiest and most attractive method of cultivating it may probably be that of examining and comparing the lives of some of those illustrious men of both eras, whose great deeds, or, it may be, whose eminent position has kept them before the eyes of all succeeding ages. I purpose therefore to set before

the reader, with as much brevity as possible, short biographical sketches of some of the greatest of the heroes of Greece and Rome, and an equal number of those of modern times, drawing a parallel between each pair in imitation of the plan so successfully executed by Plutarch.

It will not be expected that the resemblances will generally, or indeed often, be very minute; there may even be cases when the comparison instituted will seem one of contrast rather than of similarity. The total difference of feelings and customs which has arisen among all nations since the Christian Era; the infinitely more extended field of action which is spread before the modern statesman, than that which was conceived by the wisest and most far-sighted of the ancients; the magnitude of modern kingdoms, and the complicated interests involved and dealt with in modern politics, as compared with the diminutive size and narrow views of the ancient republics of Greece, and of Rome in its earlier history; and, in later times, the absence of any rival to the Imperial City, form a combination of circumstances which could not fail to mark the career of men of naturally the most similar characters with great points of difference. But still, as the human heart is the same in all ages, and in all climes, it is ever swayed by similar passions, and obedient to the impulse of similar motives, however the changes of religion and manners may

have contributed to vary the professions under which it is attempted to disguise them; and as these unaltered passions and motives will at all times and under all circumstances produce nearly similar effects, there is no age and no country which has been softened by any kind of civilisation, which may not in its degree furnish lessons of great value to the young and inexperienced, and sometimes perhaps not wholly beneath the notice of the philosopher or the statesman. It cannot but be profitable as well as pleasing to dwell on the contemplation of virtuous principles and noble actions; and, though not equally delightful, it may be even more instructive occasionally to mark and draw warnings from the errors, or follies, or vices which may have marred the perfection of that example, which might otherwise have justly been held up as a model for undeviating imitation.

The early life of Epaminondas is involved in great obscurity; that, though poor, he was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families * in Thebes we know, but of the time of his birth we are ignorant; and, though we are told that his father's name was Polymnis,

* He was one of the Sparti, so called from *σπείρω, to sow*, as those distinguished by this appellation were believed to be descended from one of the five heroes born of the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, who survived their fratricidal contest.

the researches of his admirers in the very next generation did not enable them to ascertain that of his other parent. One fact only has come down to us with respect to his earlier years, namely, that he was a pupil of Lysis, a Tarentine philosopher, of the school of Pythagoras, who had fixed his residence at Thebes; and who, not only stored the mind of his pupil with precepts of wisdom and virtue, but was in a certain degree his master in oratory, and probably also in those lighter accomplishments which the ancients did not disdain to consider important even to the leaders of a nation; so that Cicero (while extolling Epaminondas as the first man of all Greece) does not think it unworthy of remark that he played admirably on the lyre, while Themistocles had been lightly esteemed in some quarters because of his deficiency in that art. He likewise cultivated the acquaintance of other philosophers, such as Simmias and Spintharus, who had been companions of Socrates, and, contented in his poverty, would probably have been led by his natural inclinations to devote himself wholly to literary studies, if, fortunately for his country, his friendship for Pelopidas had not called him to the more active business of life, and made him take, in the first instance a share, and afterwards the lead in the direction of those events which for a short time raised his native city to the supremacy over Greece.

In spite of the fertility of its soil, and of its many advantages of situation, Thebes had never been possessed of such power or of such reputation as to be able to dispute the ascendancy with Athens or Sparta; and it was only the friendship of the latter city, desirous to raise up an enemy to Athens in her own neighbourhood, that had raised her to a level in the Grecian community with the states which may be looked upon as holding the second rank;—Corinth and Argos. At the time of the Persian invasion she had thrown herself cordially into the arms of the Barbarians, and time had not wholly effaced the recollection of this treachery to the common cause. By the fall of Athens, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, her importance had been increased, but her power had again received a severe blow by the peace of Antalcidas, which compelled her to acknowledge the independence of the other Bœotian cities, and by the re-building of Platæa, and the restoration of the ancient citizens of that gallant little town to their restored country.

Epaminondas was probably about five-and-thirty years of age when the Thebans sent an army to co-operate with the Lacedæmonians in the war upon Mantinea. In the battle, which took place under the walls of that city, his friend Pelopidas, a man of equally noble birth with himself, but more amply endowed with the gifts of fortune, fell covered with wounds; Epaminondas, however,

though he believed that he was dead, would not desert him, but, in spite of severe wounds which he had himself received, stood over him, and fought for his body and his arms, (the preservation of which was an object of great importance in the eyes of every Greek,) and, when his efforts had been crowned with success, was rewarded by finding that he had preserved his life also. When, on the treacherous seizure of the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes, by the Lacedæmonians, Pelopidas with many more of the leading citizens fled to Athens, Epaminondas remained behind, but maintained a correspondence with the refugees till the time arrived for rising against their oppressors. In three years the tyranny of the Lacedæmonian governors Leontiades and Archias had excited an universal feeling of impatience and indignation in the heart of every Theban; and, finding that, though Athens afforded them a safe asylum, it was not inclined to provoke a quarrel with Sparta by openly assisting in the expulsion of the Spartan garrison, Pelopidas resolved to undertake the enterprise without waiting for foreign assistance, of which he had learnt to despair; and with a small body of friends effected his entrance into Thebes, and put the Spartan chiefs to death. To Grecian notions such an action appeared a deed of gallant daring rather than one of private assassination; but still Epaminondas refused to be concerned in it, or in any act which was

likely to lead to shedding the blood of his own innocent fellow-citizens. When, however, the tyrants were slain, and the people were convened to meet the champions of their freedom, he was one of the first who appeared in arms to support his friends, and to aid them in compelling the Spartan garrison to capitulate; and, when the course of succeeding events produced a rupture between Sparta and Athens, he promoted the accession of Thebes to the formidable confederacy by the aid of which the city of Pallas was preparing to avenge herself on her conqueror. Doubtless he bore his share in the repulse of Agesilaus in the ensuing year by the novel tactics of the Athenian Chabrias, and in the successful efforts to which it was owing, that, though for several years the Spartans, with their Peloponesian allies, regularly invaded Bœotia, the Theban territory suffered little or nothing from these unceasing hostilities, while the Spartans sustained two or three decided defeats: doubtless it was in no slight degree owing to his moderation and wisdom, aided by a more persuasive eloquence than had ever before flowed from Theban lips, that the Bœotian cities, with the single exception of Orchomenos, again resumed their union with Thebes; but, though he generally filled the office of Bœotarch*

* This was the title of the supreme magistrates of Bœotia; usually each confederate city sent one, and Thebes two. The numbers, however, varied; in the year of the battle of Leuctra there were seven altogether.

during these years, we meet with no particular mention of his name till the spring of the year 371, B.C., when there appeared to be a hope of peace, and deputies were sent from Athens and Thebes to Sparta to negotiate for the attainment of so desirable an object. Of the Theban plenipotentiaries Epaminondas was the chief; the Athenian Callistratus was the most distinguished orator of his day among his countrymen; and Agesilaus the Spartan king was almost as celebrated for his shrewdness and readiness in argument as for his military talents; but Epaminondas sustained the cause of his country in the debates that ensued with an ability which threw the efforts of all the rival orators into the shade, and which greatly raised his own reputation and the influence of his country. The real object of Athens and Sparta was to divide between themselves the supremacy over the whole of Greece; the former having recovered in a great degree her maritime dominion, and the latter being supposed to be powerful on land beyond all competition; the course by which that object was designed to be obtained was the compelling Thebes to admit the independence of all the Bœotian cities. Accordingly, when the conditions of peace had generally been agreed upon, Sparta took the oath to observe them on the part of all the cities of Laconia; but, when Epaminondas was about to take the same oath in the name of the Bœotian confederacy, Agesilaus

objected, and insisted that each of the Bœotian cities should swear for itself, as being an independent state. The Theban chief pointed out that the claim of Thebes to supremacy over Bœotia stood on the same, or even on stronger grounds, than that of Sparta to dominion over the rest of Laconia. If the Spartans would leave the towns, in whose name her king had already sworn, free and independent, Thebes would pursue a similar line of conduct towards the inferior towns of Bœotia, though they were originally colonies of her own citizens. The debate was fierce; Epaminondas, as he afterwards boasted, compelled the Lacedæmonians "to lengthen their monosyllables;" but, in the end, the Spartans refused to recede from their pretensions in any respect; and peace was concluded between the other states of Greece without the Thebans being parties to it.

The congress at Sparta was dissolved a little before midsummer, and Epaminondas returned to Thebes. According to the principles of the ancients, the fact of no peace or truce subsisting between different states was a sufficient reason, without any fresh cause of offence having arisen, for entering upon war. Thebes therefore was liable to be attacked on all sides; but Athens, professing a friendship for both rivals, took no part in the war which Agesilaus prevailed upon the Lacedæmonian Ephori to declare. Cleombrotus, the other Spartan king,

was at that moment at the head of an army in Phocis on the borders of Bœotia; his force was augmented, and he was ordered to invade Bœotia without delay, if Thebes did not at once surrender her pretensions. But Epaminondas had inspired his countrymen with his own resolute and enterprising spirit. He scorned and taught them to scorn all idea of concession, and, having, with rare tact, won over the Bœotian cities themselves to acquiesce in their subordination to Thebes as their chief, he marched at the head of a considerable force, composed of troops from every city in the confederacy, to encounter the invaders. Eager for battle he occupied the narrow pass near Coronea, which afforded by far the most practicable route for an army approaching from Phocis; but Cleombrotus, with great military talent, conducted his army by a more southern route over the mountains, descended upon the port of Creusis, which he took by storm, capturing at the same time twelve Theban ships of war which lay in the harbour; and, having left a garrison in the port, marched onward without delay and encamped in the territory of Thespiæ, (the one Bœotian town which had immortalised its name by sharing with the Spartans the honour of defending Thermopylæ). There, on the plain of Leuctra, he awaited the attack of the Theban generals; but so great was his numerical superiority, and so high the reputation of the

Spartan name for invincibility on the very day when it was about to pass away for ever, that it required the utmost exertions of Epaminondas and Pelopidas to induce the Thebans to accept the battle offered to them, even when the alternative was the abandonment of their country and dependence on the charity of Athens for the support of their wives and families, for whom they had scarcely the courage to raise an arm themselves. Such craven spirits did the genius and resolution of one man raise in a few years to be the chiefs of Greece.

When at last the determination to fight had been formed, the soothsayers had recourse to the common Greek expedient of omens and dreams to raise the spirits of the troops. On this very spot, it was noised about, some Spartan youths had formerly subjected the daughters of the Theban Scedasus to the worst indignities; and on the very battle-field stood the tomb of the damsels who, unable to survive their shame, had slain themselves, imprecating curses on the country of their ravishers. Pelopidas too had a dream promising victory to the Thebans, if they offered up an auburn-haired maiden on their tomb. His more civilised age revolted from the idea of such a sacrifice as that by which Agamemnon had sought the favour of the Gods in the Trojan war; but, while the chiefs were hesitating, a chesnut filly trotted into the

camp, and was at once pronounced by the prophet to be the victim indicated by the dream; her blood at least encouraged the men, who conceived greater hopes of victory, now that they were about to fight under the assured protection and countenance of the Gods themselves.

Epaminondas disdained such artifices, he was so scrupulous a lover of truth that he never permitted himself to utter a falsehood even in jest. Like Pericles, he reckoned the belief in dreams and oracles mere pretexts of cowardice, and the only omen that he trusted in was, as he told his friends, the same which had nerved Hector for the onset,

The one best omen is my country's cause.*

And that cause he now prepared to uphold with the courage and skill, which the importance of the interests at stake required: for he was to fight for the very existence of his native city. The Lacedæmonians, who had lately destroyed Mantinea, and distributed the inhabitants among small and impotent villages, were meditating the subjection of Thebes to a similar treatment; dishonour to the temples of the gods, death to himself and the other chiefs; a fate little better than slavery to those who were allowed to survive; these were

* Il. xii. 243.

the dangers that were impending over his countrymen, and that could only be averted by victory.

There were great apparent advantages on the side of the Lacedæmonians; they had a considerable superiority in point of numbers: they had experience of, and confidence in their general, who had so recently given proof that he well deserved it from them; while the Theban leader was as yet untried in action, nor had there been any opportunity for the commander to acquire that reliance on his troops, and the troops that trust in their commander, which has so often been found to counterbalance most formidable odds. The seeds of that trust were this day to be sown, and were destined to produce an ample crop of victory, and glory, and power, to both leader and people.

There were no great advantages of position in favour of either side: each army was posted on rising ground, and the small plain of Leuctra lay between them. Into this plain they both descended; the Peloponnesian army in its usual straight line of battle, though, so superior were their numbers, that they were formed to-day in squadrons twelve deep, instead of eight which was the usual custom: a thousand cavalry skirmished in their front, and the usual complement of light troops covered their flanks and rear: the heavy infantry, on which alone a Greek general placed any real reliance, are said to have amounted to 10,000 men.

Epaminondas had not above 6000 infantry; nor were his cavalry so numerous as those of the enemy, though, as he had bestowed great care on their discipline, they were superior to them in quality; but he had devised an entirely new system of tactics, by which he hoped to make up for his inferiority in numbers. He knew that the king and the Spartans, who were the flower of the opposite army, were on the right wing, and that if he could defeat that, he should have but little to fear from the centre and the left. Accordingly he formed the Theban left in a dense column of no less than fifty deep, with Pelopidas and his battalion, called the Sacred Band, in their front; and, when the Lacedæmonian cavalry, who began the battle, had been routed by the Theban horse, not without causing some confusion to the infantry behind them, Pelopidas charged the extreme right of the enemy, and was supported by the whole column with a vigour which its numbers and weight made irresistible. Cleombrotus was not wanting to his country, or to his own high reputation; though the Theban line, with the exception of this column thus thrown upon the Lacedæmonian right, was only six deep, it was still far from reaching to the extremity of the enemy's left; it seemed possible therefore that in this direction the Theban position might be turned, and the fortune of the day retrieved; but the probability of such a

manœuvre being attempted had not been unperceived by Epaminondas, who had in consequence thrown back his centre and right wing with the intention that those parts of his army which he had weakened for the purpose of strengthening his column, should be out of reach of attack from the heavier array of the Peloponnesians, till the column had decided the battle; trusting that, when the Spartans were broken, there would be no such zeal on their behalf on the part of their allies as to prompt them to continue a hopeless resistance. Nor were his calculations deceived by the event: Cleombrotus was mortally wounded early in the day; Spodrias and other distinguished Spartan leaders fell around him; and, after a fearful slaughter, which attested the obstinacy of their courage, the whole right wing of the Spartan army was routed, and driven back upon their camp. The centre and left fell back with them, and their entrenchments were too strong for the Thebans to attempt to force them.

Such was the battle of Leuctra; full of glory to the conquerors, and fraught with no disgrace to the Lacedæmonians, the greatness of whose loss was a sufficient proof of the desperate resolution with which they so long resisted the overpowering weight of the Theban charge. Of seven hundred Spartans, who had descended into the plain in the morning, four hundred lay dead or dying on

the field; a thousand of the other Lacedæmonians were slain, while their allies had scarcely lost a man. The Theban loss was small in comparison; according to ancient usage, the conquerors erected a trophy of the arms of their slain enemies on the field of battle, and cherished the memorials of their victory with such reverence, that, five hundred years afterwards, Pausanias saw the shields of the Spartans, who had fallen on this memorable day, preserved with all honour in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, the tutelar deity of their city.

Such was the battle of Leuctra; but its importance was not to be estimated by the comparative loss of the conquerors and of the conquered. The event was felt as a shock wherever the Grecian power was feared, or the Grecian name known. A Lacedæmonian army had been beaten by inferior numbers, and had acknowledged their defeat by requesting permission of the victors to bury their dead. A Spartan king had been slain in battle, the first instance of the kind since the heroic, triumphant death of Leonidas. It was the beginning of a new era: Sparta had but one ambition, but one renown, that of military prowess; and that was reft from her; a new power had arisen which had despoiled her of that glory, and which was about to threaten her very existence as a nation.

The news reached Lacedæmon while the people were celebrating one of their most solemn festivals.

With Spartan resolution the Ephori would not permit the sacred observances to be interrupted, or even shortened; issuing an order that even the female relations of the slain "should make no noise, but bear their trouble in silence:" with Spartan resolution the edict was obeyed, and a sight was presented to the spectator such as no other city, under similar circumstances, could or would have exhibited since the world began; for the contemporary historian Xenophon, from whom we derive our principal knowledge of these occurrences, tells us, that "the next day those whose relations had fallen showed themselves in public with cheerful countenances; while those whose kinsmen were reported to be still alive, appeared in scanty numbers, and with downcast looks," grieving over the dishonour to their families which seemed to be implied in their having endured to survive the disaster of their country.

Instead of wasting time in unavailing mourning, the Ephori without delay sent an army under Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, to ensure the safety of the survivors of Leuctra; but, before they could arrive in Bœotia, they met their countrymen returning, who, by the intervention of Jason, the ruler of Thessaly, had obtained from Epaminondas an armistice for the purpose of quitting the territories which they had invaded.

One day had overthrown the ascendancy of

Sparta. Epaminondas was eager to prevent all danger of its reviving, and, with wise statesmanship, perceived that no means could be more effectual for such an end, than raising up a countervailing power in Peloponnesus. With this view he encouraged the Mantineans to rebuild their city, and promoted with all his energy (if indeed he was not the original author of it) the design of consolidating the small Arcadian communities, and founding the new capital of Megalopolis, at no great distance from the borders of Laconia, in a situation admirably adapted to bridle any efforts that Sparta might make to recover the ground that she had lost. He was preparing to inflict on her a still more formidable blow. The Argives, as well as the Arcadians, had formed an alliance with Thebes. At the head of an allied army of 70,000 men, he invaded Peloponnesus, and proclaimed the restoration of the Messenians to the country from which they had so long been expelled. From Northern Greece, and Italy, and Sicily, and Africa, the exiles returned to become again a nation; and, on the ridge on which Ithome had formerly stood, on which Aristomenes had offered his triumphal sacrifices, and where now, at a fortunate moment, the sacred tablet was found which the hero had buried, when unable any longer to avert the impending ruin of his country, a new city arose under the name of Messene, at once a striking memorial of the destruction of the Spartan

supremacy, and a perpetual obstacle to its resurrection.

In the mean time, he himself, having divided his army into four bodies, passed rapidly through the northern parts of the Peloponnesus, where his victory at Leuctra had roused every people, except the Achæans, to hostility to Sparta; he entered Laconia, and, re-uniting his divisions at Sellasia, marched onwards to the banks of the Eurotas, and to the bridge which connected the suburbs with the city of Lacedæmon. Never before, since the descendants of Hercules had established their sovereignty in the land, had the fires of a hostile camp been seen from the windows of that city. True, there were no protecting fortresses in the district, no walls to the city; but her citizens had long reposed secure in the confidence, that the same valour which carried fire and sword into other lands, which had extorted respect from Thracian barbarians, and shaken the distant throne of the Persian despot, would for ever preserve their own soil inviolate, their own city impregnable: while now their blazing suburbs, thickly studded with the villas of the wealthiest and noblest of their race, were a fearful token that all things had passed away, and that her future struggles must be for safety and for existence. Her sole hope was in the skill and energy of Agesilaus. A considerable force of allies from Achaia arrived most opportunely

by sea; to them he added six thousand Helots, to whom he gave liberty and arms; and, abandoning Amyclæ, confined his efforts to the defence of the capital itself. In one skirmish, the only combat which he would grant to the impatience of his troops, he gained a slight advantage over the invaders; and Epaminondas, finding himself unable to assault the city itself with any fair prospect of success, proceeded onwards to the coast, threatened the arsenal at Gythium, and then, finding that his Peloponnesian allies were beginning to leave him, to secure the booty which they had acquired, he retraced his steps, and having ascertained that the fortifications of Messene were now so far advanced that the presence of his army was no longer needed, he returned home. The legal period of his command had already expired, and faction was so strong at Thebes, that persons were found to impeach both him and Pelopidas of the capital offence of an illegal retention of office. Pelopidas was acquitted, and Epaminondas made so strong an impression on the minds of his judges by a recital of his great deeds, and of the objects for which he had exceeded the law,—being willing, as he told them, to die, if the three names of Leuctra, Messene, and Sparta, might be inscribed on his tomb, (that his countrymen might never forget how he had conquered at the one, restored the other, and humbled the last,)—that in his case they would

not go through the form of voting, but dismissed the charge by their unanimous acclamation.

The next year he again invaded Peloponnesus;* on this occasion Athens, which (unwilling, to use an expression of one of her orators, to see one of the eyes of Greece put out, and the power of Sparta wholly destroyed) had made an ineffectual attempt to cut off Epaminondas's return to Thebes from his first invasion, now sent a force under Chabrias to join the Spartans at the Isthmus: the allied army far outnumbered the Thebans, but Epaminondas forced their lines, compelled or induced Pellene and the important town of Sicyon to separate themselves from Sparta, and to join the Theban alliance; took prisoners a number of Bœotian refugees belonging to the opposite party, whom, with a mildness and humanity previously unheard of in Greece, he suffered to depart uninjured, setting the first example of mercy towards political opponents that is to be found in ancient history; and proceeded to attack Corinth, of which he would have made himself master, had it not been for the promptness of Chabrias, who, aided by a reinforcement which arrived just at the time from Dionysius of Syracuse, the elder tyrant of

* It is not quite clear in which year this second invasion of Peloponnesus took place. Thirlwall places it in 368; Grote, in 369. There is a similar doubt as to the year in which Epaminondas was in Thessaly, and that in which Orchomenos was destroyed; but the question is of no importance to the general history.

that name, garrisoned the city, and frustrated the attempt of a faction to betray it to the Thebans.

Epaminondas returned home and disbanded his troops: the comparatively barren results of his campaign had given his enemies a handle to renew their attacks upon him, as having designedly spared the Lacedæmonians; and, when his year of office expired, he was not re-elected Bœotarch. In the mean time, Pelopidas, incautiously trusting himself in the power of Alexander, the unworthy successor of Jason as tyrant of Pheræ in Thessaly, had been thrown into prison by him, and was in danger of being put to death. The Thebans, sensible of his value, sent an army under Cleomenes to rescue him, in which Epaminondas, full of solicitude for his friend, did not disdain to serve as a private soldier. The Athenians, eager to check the growing power of Thebes by the detention of so important a prisoner, sent a reinforcement to Alexander under Autocles, who took the command of the Thessalian army, and conducted it with such skill that the Thebans were soon in the greatest danger; and would in all probability have been wholly cut off, if the soldiers had not themselves risen to depose Cleomenes from a position which he was incompetent to fill, and called upon Epaminondas to extricate them from the dangers which surrounded them. He took the command, baffled the tactics, and repulsed the attacks of the enemy, and led the

army back in safety to Thebes. The contrast between their danger when other leaders were at the helm and their success under Epaminondas, raised his reputation more highly than ever among his countrymen, and the command of a second expedition, sent out with the same object—the rescue of Pelopidas, was committed to him and was completely successful.

On his return he was sent on a more peaceful mission into Arcadia: weariness of the war, a feeling which was beginning to prevail among the subordinate states on either side, had induced the Arcadians to make overtures of peace and friendship to Athens; and Epaminondas, as the only one of his nation eminent for oratorical and diplomatic ability, went, accompanied by an envoy from Argos, as ambassador, to impede or prevent the proposed alliance. He was again opposed to Callistratus, whom he had before encountered at Sparta, and history has preserved one rejoinder which was considered by his contemporaries to do great credit to his readiness and ingenuity. "The Thebans," said Callistratus, "have at all times been faithless and impious: was not Œdipus, who slew his father and married his mother, a Theban born?" "Surely," retorted Epaminondas; "but while he lived at Thebes he was believed to be a pure and virtuous citizen; when his crimes were known, and when, for them, he was exiled from Thebes, he was

received, with all his notorious infamy, with open arms by Athens." The ingenuity of the reply failed to ensure the success of the mission; as the Arcadians made terms with the Athenians, though without renouncing all friendship with Thebes.

On the other hand, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and Epidaurians made peace with Thebes, to which Sparta refused to become a party, being resolved never to admit the independence of Messene, which was the first condition insisted upon by Epaminondas: they did not indeed make a treaty of alliance with Thebes, as that would have involved them in war with Sparta; but still peace with them was very advantageous to her, as diminishing the number of her enemies, who were now confined to Athens and Sparta, a pair of confederates to which she, with the assistance of Argos, had now no reason to think herself unequal.

His past successes now encouraged Epaminondas to form, or to give expression to, bolder ideas. The greatness of Athens had been owing to her maritime supremacy; that it was which had been the source of her riches and her greatness; it had been founded by some of her most glorious achievements, had not been permanently impaired even by the defeat of Ægospotami, was soon restored by Conon, and had again been acquiesced in as before by the rest of the Grecian states on either side of the Ægean. He now conceived the idea of grap-

pling with this Queen of the sea on her own element, and with powerful eloquence bade his countrymen no longer crouch to the fancied superiority of the Athenians, nor rest till they had ornamented their own citadel with the decorations to be stripped from the Athenian Acropolis. His audience were fired with his own enthusiasm and passed a vote to build a hundred triremes, and docks and arsenals for the adequate maintenance of such an armament. Ambassadors were sent to the different islands, and even to Byzantium, to endeavour to prevail on the allies of Athens to separate themselves from her interests, and to submit to that power which was to be the new mistress of the ocean; and with such success were these negotiations carried on, that even Eubœa exchanged the Athenian for the Theban alliance; and when Epaminondas himself, at the head of a small fleet, visited some of the islands on the Ionian coast, his eloquence and the charm or terror of his name had so much influence, that he flattered himself that he had laid a foundation on which it should be easy to erect the universal supremacy of his country.

It was probably about this time that Artaxerxes, who had been favourably impressed with ideas of the genius of Epaminondas from intercourse with his friend Pelopidas, who had lately been sent as ambassador to the Persian court, hearing of his poverty,

sought to attach him to his interests, and sent Diomedon of Cyzicus to Thebes with a large sum of money, which he was to place at his disposal. Diomedon won over one of his friends, by name Micythus, to plead with him, but Epaminondas disdained a bribe, bidding Diomedon report to his master that, if the objects which the king of Persia had in view were calculated for the advantage of Thebes, he might at all times count upon his exertions to carry them out without payment; but, if he designed evil to Thebes, then the whole world could not contain that amount of silver and gold which could tempt him to forget his duty to his country. Micythus he compelled to return what he had received, and, at his own request, sent Diomedon with his treasures under a guard to Athens, that there might be no suspicion that any of the money had reached him secretly which he had refused to accept openly.

It was either while Epaminondas was away on his naval expedition, or while he was in Thessaly procuring the deliverance of Pelopidas from prison, that the Thebans availed themselves of his absence to satisfy their revenge on Orchomenos. It was the second city of Bœotia, and, from jealousy of Thebes, had taken part with the Lacedæmonians till their defeat at Leuctra. Flushed with their victory, the Thebans threatened to make it atone for its rebellion against Bœotian interests, by destroying the city and reducing the inhabitants to slavery; and they were

only turned from their purpose by the influence of Epaminondas, who impressed upon them the necessity of establishing a character for moderation and humanity, if they hoped for either extended or durable dominion. At that time, therefore, they accepted the submission of the city, and re-admitted it as a member of the Bœotian confederacy; but the hatred of the democratical party in Thebes towards it, as the head of the opposite faction, was only slumbering till it could find a convenient opportunity to gratify itself. Under pretext of an alleged conspiracy on the part of the Orchomenians to effect an aristocratical revolution in Thebes, the opposite party took advantage of the absence of Epaminondas, arrested the chiefs of the Orchomenians, and brought them to trial before the assembly, who had probably prejudged their cause, and who without delay condemned them to death, and pronounced a similar sentence against the whole people. A Theban army was instantly sent against the devoted city; its walls were razed to the ground, its men were slain with the sword, the women and children were carried away into slavery. Epaminondas, on his return, expressed the deepest grief for and indignation at the event, and affirmed that Meneclidas and his faction would never have dared to proceed to such extremities if he had been in the country. Bishop Thirlwall pronounces "the precipitation with which the people indulged their evil passions in his absence,

the most honourable homage ever paid by a Greek state to the virtue of a citizen." *

The war with Peloponnesus had been slumbering, but was now about to be rekindled in all its former fury by the intestine divisions of Arcadia. In spite of the injuries which the people of Mantinea had received from the Lacedæmonians, they now, to obtain support in a quarrel with the Tegeans, sought to form an alliance with them. The Tegeans and the democratic party in Mantinea sent speedy intimation to Epaminondas of the danger that there was that Arcadia, or a considerable portion of it, might, if no counteracting measures were adopted, be speedily detached from the Theban confederacy. They besought him to appear in the country, where his presence would be sufficient to check the contemplated revolution. In the mean time the united assembly of the Arcadian people made a treaty of peace with the Eleans, with whom they had lately been at war, with the warm approbation of even those cities which adhered most firmly to the Theban interest, though it had been concluded without Thebes having been consulted on the subject. When the deputies appointed to receive the ratification of the peace came to Tegea, the commander of the Theban garrison sanctioned the solemnity by

* History of Greece, c. xl.—I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to, and the copious use that I have made of the admirable Histories of Greece by himself and Mr. Grote.

his presence, and harmony and mutual goodwill appeared to have succeeded to faction and rivalry. But in the evening, while the chief citizens, with some of the leaders of the other Arcadian cities, were celebrating the event at a banquet, the Theban commander, excited by some report of meditated treachery within the town, to be supported by a Lacedæmonian force reported to be on the march, seized the chiefs of the aristocratical party as they sat at the feast, and threw them into prison. And though the next morning, in compliance with an earnest remonstrance of the chief authorities, he released his prisoners, and explained the causes of the arrest, the Arcadians were not pacified, but sent envoys to Thebes with bitter complaints of his conduct, and peremptory demands of his immediate and condign punishment.

Their complaints, however, did not obtain a favourable hearing at Thebes; the defence of the accused commander arrived at the same time with the complaints against him, and so conclusive were the proofs which he was able to bring forward, either that he really had baffled an act of intended treachery, or, at least, that he had sufficient grounds for believing such an act to be meditated, that Epaminondas pronounced that the arrest of the Arcadians had been more justifiable than their release; adding, that the Thebans had ample grounds of complaint against the Arcadians, who, after having

invited them into Peloponnesus, had now made peace without consulting them. He added, that he would soon appear in arms in Arcadia, to support the friends and to make war upon the enemies—the treacherous enemies of his country.

He had much reason to view these divisions in Arcadia with anxiety and apprehension: the revolutions in Grecian politics were so violent and so sudden that it was no uncommon thing to find cities that had been combating side by side at the beginning of the year, warring against one another face to face before the end of it; and the soundest political calculations were liable to be deranged in a moment if the city which was the head of a confederacy did not keep their subordinate states to their allegiance by the strong hand. The darling object of Epaminondas had been to bridle the power of Sparta by establishing the independence of Messene, and consolidating the union of Arcadia; but, now that the Arcadians had made peace with Elis and Achaia, the allies of Sparta, it was not improbable that the next step would be to form an alliance with Sparta herself, so that the power which he had created would be turned against him. Tegea and Megalopolis alone of the Arcadian towns remained faithful to Theban interests, and sent envoys to him to beg for his support at the head of his army. If he failed or delayed to afford it, it was plain that there was the greatest danger that these

towns also might be forced to follow the lead of the rest, that Arcadia would be wholly lost to Thebes, and consequently that Sparta would find nothing in Peloponnesus powerful enough to resist her efforts for the recovery of her lost supremacy.

Accordingly Epaminondas prepared for what was destined to be his last campaign; from Sicyon, and Argos, and Messenia, reinforcements flocked to his standard; the Eubæans crossed the Euripus to cement their new alliance on the field of battle; Alexander of Pheræ, who had been compelled by numerous defeats (though these advantages had been dearly purchased by the death of Pelopidas), to enter into a treaty with Thebes, and to engage to supply her with troops whenever she required them, sent a numerous contingent consisting partly of cavalry, so that when Epaminondas, who met with no interruption in occupying the Isthmus, arrived at Tegea, where he was joined by the troops of that city and of Megalopolis, he found his army amount to no less than 30,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry. He had halted for a few days at Nemea, on the northern frontier of Argolis, in hopes to intercept the Athenian army which he understood to be on its way to join the Lacedæmonians; but the Athenians were designing to cross by sea and to land on the eastern coast of Laconia; and the delay was not only unsuccessful but injurious, as it allowed the Peloponnesian army to concentrate itself

at Mantinea. There the Mantineans and the rest of the Arcadians, the Eleans, and the Achæans were now assembled, the Athenians were hastening thither with a numerous body of cavalry, and Agesilaus, though in his eightieth year, was marching at the head of the Lacedæmonians, to assume the supreme command. His movements were no secret to the Theban general; and, after having in vain attempted to provoke the Peloponnesians to action before the arrival of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, Epaminondas, judging that the departure of Agesilaus with such an army as he had with him, must have left Sparta itself defenceless, broke up his camp at Tegea, and marching all night by the lower road (Agesilaus was advancing by the road of the upper Eurotas through Pellana), arrived in front of Sparta the next morning. The plan was as skilful as it was bold, and as well executed as it was skilful; and Epaminondas must, as Xenophon expresses it, have taken the city as a boy takes a nest of young birds, if a Cretan deserter had not hastened to Agesilaus with the news, on which the king turned back with those forces which he had with him (the main body of his army had gone forward to Mantinea), and arrived again in Sparta, in time to place the city in a posture of defence. Disappointed in his attempt to surprise it, Epaminondas resolved to try the event of an open attack, and crossed the Eurotas, carried one

of the heights which commanded it, and descended towards the Market-place. But Agesilaus had posted the old men and the boys with missile weapons on the house-tops, the streets were lined with regular troops, and Epaminondas hesitated to expose his men in so dangerous and difficult a contest. A part of his army, which carried its daring too far, was repulsed by Archidamus with a small band of a hundred men; and historians have handed down to us the name of Isidas as the hero entitled to the honours of the day. He was naked in his house anointing himself for the exercises of the Palæstra, when the din of battle reached his ear. He stayed not to don helmet or breastplate, he would not even encumber himself with his shield, but with a lance in his left hand, and a sword in his right, he sallied forth and plunged into the middle of the fray, looking (he was eminent for the perfection of his manly beauty), as though Apollo himself had descended to mingle in the fight; deadly were the blows that he dealt among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man whom he attacked, while he himself remained unwounded and unhurt; whether it was, as Plutarch says, that Heaven preserved him out of regard to his valour; or that he appeared to the foe as something more than human. When the enemy had retreated, the Ephori presented him with a crown for his valour, but vindicated the rigour of Spartan discipline by

inflicting a heavy fine on him for fighting without his armour.

Reinforcements to the garrison were expected from Arcadia, so Epaminondas prepared to retreat. Accident had disconcerted his well-imagined scheme; still it was something to have a second time dared the Spartans in their very homes, and to withdraw unconquered, unattacked from their territory. They had been used to boast that none of their women had ever seen the camp of an enemy; that no foe had ever approached the banks of the sacred Eurotas, that none had ever left his bones to lie buried beneath the plains of Lacedæmon. These proud words could never be repeated again; twice within a few years had the Spartan women trembled for their household gods; twice had the beleaguering hosts stood between the sacred river and the city; and Theban and Spartan blood had mingled on the no longer inviolable plain.

Having failed at Sparta, he resolved to attempt the surprise of Mantinea; if, as was understood, the Peloponnesian army was hastening to the relief of Lacedæmon, that town was likely to be undefended, and would be a prize almost as important as its more renowned ally. Again accident baffled the best-founded calculations. Without giving his troops any rest, Epaminondas marched back to Tegea, and sent his cavalry forward to Mantinea. Had they arrived but one hour earlier, they would

have found it empty; the soldiers were gone to Laconia, the peaceful population were in the fields collecting the harvest. But the Athenians, when they heard that the Thebans had quitted Nemea, had changed their purpose of transporting their army by sea to Laconia; they were now approaching from the Isthmus; and the cavalry, which was their advanced guard, had just entered Mantinea when the Theban horse came in sight. They sallied out from the quarters which they had just taken up; the Thebans and Thessalians were the more numerous body, and had perhaps the higher reputation as cavalry; but on this day, though both parties were wearied with their long previous march, the Athenians were the freshest of the two; after a hard-fought action they repulsed their enemies and returned in safety within the walls of the city.

The discomfited Theban and Thessalian horse rejoined their infantry at Tegea; while Agesilaus returned with his Spartans and the Arcadians, who had gone to his assistance, to Mantinea, and both armies prepared for the impending battle.

Mantinea was about ten miles to the north of Tegea; and between them, bounded by high ranges of mountains both on the east and on the west, lay the plain of Mantinea, known to the modern traveller as the plain of Tripolitza, the largest of the vallies in the centre of Peloponnesus; towards the centre of the plain the mountains approach

one another more nearly, so as to leave little more than a narrow pass; in front of this pass, which was, as it were, the key to the whole Mantinean territory, Agesilaus marshalled his men to await the attack which Epaminondas was preparing.

On the Theban side all was confidence and eagerness for battle; they were superior in numbers, they were led by the conqueror of Leuctra; though disappointed in their recent enterprise, they were flushed with pride at having threatened Sparta and laid waste her territory, and at having returned without their enemies daring to molest them. Both armies confronted each other, when Epaminondas, instead of giving the signal to engage, turned towards the western range of hills, and made a circuitous march along the border of the plain, halting near the enemy's position on their right flank, where he ordered his men to pile their arms, so as to present the appearance of being about to encamp and to decline any action for that day. The Spartans were completely deceived; they fell out of the ranks and straggled over the plain; some of the cavalry relieved their horses of their accoutrements; all vigilance, even all military order, was at an end for the day, when they were surprised and dismayed by seeing the Thebans take up their arms, and advance with swiftness to the attack.

Epaminondas proposed to repeat in a great measure the tactics which had proved so decisive

at Leuctra; on the enemy's side the Mantineans now held the post of honour, because the battle was to be fought in their territory, and next to them were the Spartans. This right wing was intended, as at Leuctra, to receive the charge of the Theban column strengthened with the same irresistible numbers, so that, according to the hopes of the Theban chief, wherever it fell upon the enemy, it would cut through his line, as, to use the comparison of Xenophon, the prow of a trireme cuts in two pieces another vessel which it strikes upon the side. Beyond the Lacedæmonians stood the Eleans and the Achæans; the extreme left was composed of the Athenians, in whose ranks the celebrated Æschines was serving on this occasion; Athenian cavalry also covered the left flank, and the horsemen of Elis the right. In the Theban army the Argives occupied the extreme right, the Arcadians, Messenians, and other allies the centre; while, as they had now the advantage of numbers, it was not on this occasion necessary to throw back the centre and right wing as had been done at Leuctra. The bulk of the cavalry was also arranged in a deep and solid column, strengthened with companies of light-armed infantry, to break the Eleans who were covering the flank of the Mantineans; a small body being left in reserve to watch the Athenian cavalry, and to prevent any flank movement that might be attempted from that quarter.

The Theban and Thessalian cavalry began the battle with a successful charge upon the Eleans, who were completely routed; the conquerors abstained from pursuit in order to aid the column of infantry in its attack on the Spartan and Mantinean phalanx; on came the column with Epaminondas himself at its head; the Spartans, recovered from their surprise, fought with the stubborn intrepidity of their nation, till the overpowering weight of the Theban masses broke through their ranks, and all was disorder and rout. In the moment of victory Epaminondas, who had exerted and exposed himself like the most valueless of the common soldiers (in those days such self-forgetfulness was required of the general as one of his first duties), received a mortal wound in his breast, and fell into the arms of his comrades. The battle ceased in an instant; paralysed by sorrow and consternation, the Thebans ceased to pursue the flying, or to slaughter their unresisting enemies; the cavalry fell back; the allies opposed to the Athenians, who were fighting with a resolution undismayed by the rout of their allies at the other extremity of the line, ceased to attack them, and the combat was over except where some of the Thessalian light-infantry, who had been mingled with their cavalry, straggled in the security of conquest to the Athenian ranks, and by their slaughter afforded them a pretext for erecting a trophy and claiming a victory.

Victory, however, did not belong to their side. The Thebans were masters of the field of battle, and the Lacedæmonians, who sent a herald to request permission to bury their dead, by that request confessed their own defeat. Of the extent of the loss sustained by the contending armies we are ignorant; but some of the most eminent of the Thebans had fallen besides the chief; and there was no one left fit to take the command, or possessed of influence enough over the allies, and sufficient military skill to turn the dear-bought victory to account.

The dying hero was borne off the field with the fatal spear still sticking in the wound. His last thoughts were for his honour and his country. The questions which he addressed to his friends with anxious solicitude, concerned the safety of his shield, and the certainty of victory for Thebes. When assured on these points, he declared himself willing to die, (he had been used to say, that the happiest death for a warrior was on the field of battle,) and commanding the spear which was still sticking in the wound to be drawn out, he expired.

So important was his death, that every nation which fought against him, claimed the honour of having slain him for one of her citizens,—the Mantineans for a man named Machærion; the Athenians for Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, though that could hardly be, for the wing of the

army of which the Athenians formed a part, was not that with which Epaminondas had been engaged; and five hundred years afterwards the Spartans called the descendants of Anticrates, to whom they attributed the exploit, by a name indicative of the martial prowess of their ancestor, and still allowed them the same exemption from taxes, which in the first moment of exultation they had conferred upon their ancestor.

On "the field of his fame" his countrymen buried their fallen chief; a column was raised over his grave, adorned with emblems, denoting his warlike prowess, and his illustrious descent; and on his statue the Thebans carved the following inscription recording, in a few words, the achievements and objects of his life.

> While I in life Bœotia's councils swayed,
> Proud Sparta learnt to bow the humbled knee;
> Restored Messene raised her sacred head;
> Thebes was triumphant, and all Greece was free.

THE

LIFE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,

KING OF SWEDEN.

GUSTAVUS THE SECOND, or Gustavus Adolphus, to give him the double name by which he is usually distinguished, was the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, the deliverer of Sweden; of whom his father Charles was the youngest son. His eldest uncle, Eric, had died without issue, after a reign of eight years, and was succeeded by his brother John. John died in 1592, leaving one son named Sigismund, who a few years before had been elected king of Poland, and another by a second wife, John, Duke of Ostrogothia. Sigismund succeeded to the throne, but his Swedish subjects, being enraged at his abandonment of the Protestant religion, which was established by law in the country, and which he had himself sworn to maintain; and also at his open design and endeavour to reduce their nation to the condition of a mere province or dependency of Poland, deposed him

in favour of his infant son, Vladislaus; and the next year they deposed Vladislaus also, and raised Charles, then duke of Sudermania, to the vacant throne.

Under his wise and energetic rule Sweden, though scarcely ever at peace, made great advances in internal prosperity, as well as in military power and reputation. After a reign of ten years, he died, leaving his kingdom to his eldest son, Gustavus Adolphus, whose education he had superintended with peculiar care; and for whom, two years before his death, he had endeavoured to negotiate a marriage with the Princess Elizabeth of England, who afterwards became the wife of that unfortunate Elector Palatine Frederic V., whose ill-judging ambition was the principal cause of the thirty years' war.

Gustavus, whose mother Christina, the second wife of Charles IX., was the daughter of Adolphus, duke of Holstein, was born December 9, A.D. 1594; so that on his father's death, in 1611, he was not yet seventeen years of age, wanting more than a year of his majority, which is fixed in Sweden at eighteen. So high, however, was the opinion that the estates of the kingdom had already formed of his abilities, that two months after his accession, his cousin, the duke of Ostrogothia, who was his principal guardian, with their unanimous consent resigned his charge, and committed the uncon-

trolled power to his youthful hands; and on the last day of the year, he was solemnly crowned king of Sweden.

He came to the throne at a very critical time for his country, when the surrounding states were either openly at war with it, or cherishing designs of secret hostility against it. His first and most formidable enemy was Christian IV., king of Denmark, then in the prime of life, an ambitious, warlike, and able monarch; who had gained some considerable advantages over Charles IX., and who continued the war with increased vigour when encouraged by the accession of so youthful a Prince. During the year 1612, the advantage was, on the whole, on the side of Denmark; and Gustavus, who was naturally a lover of peace, and who desired rather to direct his attention to the amelioration of the internal condition of his subjects, accepted the mediation of James I. of England, and concluded a peace with Denmark, not without some sacrifices, in the ensuing January.

He now applied himself diligently to measures of domestic reform and improvement. Trade and commerce could hardly be said as yet to have any existence in the country, which was almost equally destitute of any warlike or mercantile marine. Gustavus employed the first moments of peace in effecting a treaty with Holland, at that time the first commercial nation in Europe; which, among

other advantages, enabled him to attract into his service skilful sailors from that country. Then, having committed the principal administration of all civil affairs to Oxenstiern, who was at that time a young man of eight or nine-and-twenty years of age, but who had already given indications of that admirable political and administrative genius which has raised him to an equal reputation with the most famous ministers of the most powerful nations of Europe. He proceeded to regulate the royal revenues, to codify the laws, and to take measures for the encouragement of education in the native University of Upsal; for previously the wealthiest and noblest Swedes had been educated chiefly at Warsaw or Cracow, where they had not unnaturally imbibed sentiments favourable to Sigismund, who had not yet given up the idea of recovering the Swedish crown.

Muscovy and Poland had long borne ill-will towards Sweden, that of Muscovy being sharpened by a disinclination to repay a heavy loan which had been advanced to her. Gustavus, who had assured Christian of his peaceable inclinations by the mouth of Oxenstiern, whom he had sent to Denmark as his ambassador, and who had renewed these assurances in a conference which he himself had with that sovereign, sent envoys with proposals of peace to the Czar, who at first would listen to no terms of accommodation; but when Gustavus

had invaded Russia, had defeated his army, and had taken one or two of his most strongly fortified towns and fortresses, he likewise begged the interposition of England, and obtained peace by the sacrifice of some considerable provinces.

The hostility of Sigismund, king of Poland, was more important, and more durable; he looked upon the throne of Sweden as his own by the right of inheritance, and refused all proposals to treat, thinking that the youth of Gustavus offered him a fair prospect of recovering it. While he was preparing for war, Gustavus resolved to anticipate him; and, taking advantage of the necessity which Sigismund was under of dividing his forces, (since Bethlehem Gabor, enraged at his having assisted the emperor of Germany in the late Hungarian war, was ravaging some of his southern provinces,) invaded Livonia, conquered the whole of that province and Polish Prussia, and compelled the king to sue for peace, which he granted, though he saw clearly that it was but a temporary measure, and that Sigismund would renew the war the first moment that he was released from fear of his other enemies.

In the short interval of peace which ensued, almost the only one that he was permitted to enjoy, he continued his labours for the internal improvement of his kingdom; and then, turning his attention to warlike affairs, he soon placed his navy on

such a footing, that it was equal to that of any other European power in the north of Europe, with the exception of England. He then proceeded to remodel the army and the whole military system of the kingdom; abolishing the massive and unwieldy battalions of infantry and squadrons of cavalry in which the Continental armies had hitherto been arrayed, and which often proved fully as embarrassing to their generals as dangerous to their enemies; he substituted for them light and manageable regiments of moderate numbers; and, by an equally important innovation, he began to teach the infantry to act in concert with, and to combine their movements with those of the cavalry. He reduced the weight of their arms, and of the artillery, thus rendering them more moveable and available on sudden emergencies; so that to anyone who observed his conduct, it was plain that a new era in war was about to commence, in which celerity of movement and promptitude were to be matched against mere brute force and superiority of numbers.

Sigismund had broken all the conditions of the peace which had been granted to him; and had provoked Gustavus to repeat his invasion of Poland. But before engaging in this war, which he foresaw, from the turn which affairs were taking in Bohemia, was likely to be of long duration, and one which would not be left to the sole decision of the Swedish

and Polish arms, he solicited another conference with the king of Denmark, which lasted a fortnight, and of which he made such good use, that the friendship between them, which was cemented on that occasion — though somewhat interrupted by mutual jealousies — nevertheless, lasted unbroken through all the troubles and dangers in which Gustavus was involved, for the remainder of his life.

It was at this time that he married Maria Eleanora, Princess of Brandenburg; and having celebrated his nuptials and his queen's coronation at Stockholm with great pomp in November, he prepared to attack Sigismund, who had refused all his overtures for a permanent peace, with the whole of his power. He began the campaign by besieging Riga with 24,000 men. Riga was at this time probably the most important city in the north of Europe. It had an admirable harbour, which has preserved its importance to the present day; a thriving and numerous population; fortifications strengthened with all the resources that the art of the engineer could then supply, and an adequate garrison, enthusiastically attached to the king. Gustavus invested it so completely, as to baffle all attempts to throw reinforcements into it; stopped the entrance of any supplies by throwing a boom across the river Dwina, till at last, after the siege had lasted six weeks, and had been carried on with great loss on both sides, the city surrendered.

Gustavus entered the gates in triumph; and, after receiving the keys, the first use that he made of his victory was to direct his steps to the great church of St. Peter, where he fell on his knees and returned thanks to God for the success which he had granted to his arms. He then received the principal inhabitants, praised them for their loyalty to Sigismund, and expressing a hope and confidence that they would henceforth be as faithful to himself, incorporated the city on the most favourable terms with his native dominions.

It is said that the skill and novelty of his arrangements in this siege so forcibly struck Spinola, who was reputed at that time the first general in Europe, that he warned the Emperor that a Protestant prince had risen up of a very different stamp from the other chiefs of that persuasion, and that, if he did not find employment for Gustavus in the north, Gustavus would be likely to find it for him in his own empire. His success reduced Sigismund again to sue for a truce, which the King of Sweden granted him as a temporary measure, to subsist till June, 1625, much to the dissatisfaction of the Spaniards, who, acting on the warnings of Spinola, sent an embassy to Sigismund, to press him to continue the war. But Gustavus had now got so powerful a fleet, that he swept the Baltic with above sixty ships, and Sigismund, however inclined for war, was forced to adhere to peace, as

the Spaniards were in no condition to aid him with ships, which was the only effectual assistance that a power so distant could afford him.

For two years, therefore, Gustavus remained in Sweden, continuing his labours for the internal prosperity of the country, reforming abuses, introducing economy into the administration, the most minute details of which he himself examined, founding a second university at Abo, and erecting schools in every part of his kingdom. The desire for extending the advantages of education to every class of his subjects, inspired him continually, amid all the distractions of foreign politics and wars; so that, even in the very last year of his life, when commencing his last campaign against Wallestein, he founded a university in Livonia, which he had permanently annexed to Sweden, that the Livonians might not be forced to cross the Baltic to Upsal.

At the same time he continued to augment and discipline his army, and, on the expiration of the truce, sailed a second time to Livonia, reduced all the towns and fortresses in that province, and fought his first pitched battle at Walhoff, on the plains of Semigallia, where he routed Sapieha the Polish general, taking his artillery and many prisoners. The cavalry of the Polish army was strong in numbers and excellent in quality, and the general opinion of military men had hitherto been that it

was only on uneven, marshy, enclosed, or woody ground that infantry could meet cavalry on equal terms, while on wide plains where there was room for the rapid evolutions and fiery charges of horse, foot-soldiers must be swept away before them. Gustavus,—one of whose reforms had been to separate the musqueteers from the pikemen, so as to enable the two forces to support one another, instead of allowing the one, as formerly to be disabled by being surrounded by the other,—showed that a firm line of pikes in resolute hands formed a fence which cavalry could not penetrate; and at this time laid the foundation of that system of tactics, which, modified and improved by subsequent experience, have led to such great results in the present century.

The next year he overran Polish Prussia with the same celerity that he had subdued Livonia, treating the citizens of all the towns which surrendered to him with a moderation and humanity which forms a striking contrast to the general conduct of the commanders of that age. He made himself master of Pillau, Elbingen, and Marienburg, and of Mew and Dirschau on the Vistula, the two last of which were towns of so much importance that Sigismund made great efforts and even ventured on a pitched battle to recover them, but without success. In the winter Gustavus returned to Stockholm, where he laid before the Senate so full an account of all

his past successes, of the ineffectual attempts he had made to procure peace, and of the means necessary to enable him to prosecute the war successfully, that they were completely won over to his views by his frankness and condescension, for he was probably the only sovereign in Europe at that time who took so just an idea of the constitutional rights of his subjects as to consult them on, and, as it were, ask their consent to the measures which he had in contemplation; accordingly they granted him ample supplies of money and troops, so that before the next spring he had an army of reserve of 40,000 men; a force sufficient to ensure the safety of his own dominions and to enable him to carry on the war on the opposite continent on a greater scale than had previously been in his power.

His feeling of security at home encouraged him to form more extended views for the aggrandisement of his country abroad. He now laid before his Senate a plan for establishing commercial connections with the West Indies, that his subjects might share in the advantages which the other nations of Europe were beginning to derive from these new fountains of wealth, while the commercial marine so established would prove a nursery for his navy: another consideration which he pressed on his Senate with peculiar earnestness, was undoubtedly one which influenced himself as much as

either of the others, being the expectation that the friendly relations thus established with those countries would afford Christians great opportunities of introducing the knowledge of the true religion among their savage inhabitants. In the same spirit he published an edict in favour of the persecuted Protestants in all countries, offering them an asylum in Sweden; a measure to which it is not impossible that he may have been in some degree stimulated by the benefits which England was already seen to derive from the settlement of the Flemish refugees, whom Elizabeth had encouraged to establish themselves in that country. In consequence of this edict many Germans fled from the persecution with which they were menaced, and from the districts in which war was adding its manifold miseries to civil oppression, and settled in Sweden, adding to its wealth by their industry, and to its strength by their numbers. The Senate cheerfully co-operated with their monarch in carrying out his enlightened views, granting the refugees immunity from taxes and public burdens during the first years of their settlement in the country, and promising them free licence to return to their native land at a more favourable season; of which liberty very few ever availed themselves.

Among the regulations which Gustavus introduced at this time was one for the suppression of duelling, a practice which had risen to such a

height as to threaten the total subversion of all military discipline. Earlier in life he had himself given some countenance to the custom by his own conduct; for, having been provoked by a gallant Scotch officer of the name of Seaton, he forgot himself so far as to give him a blow at a public review in the sight of the whole army; and afterwards, repenting of his hasty conduct, he voluntarily offered him the satisfaction which Seaton would have demanded if the person who had insulted him had been any other than the king. The Scot replied that such an offer from a king was sufficient satisfaction and honour for a subject, and falling at his feet, promised to live and die in his service. Now, however, Gustavus published an edict declaring the fighting a duel a capital offence; and, when, a short time afterwards, two officers who had quarrelled solicited a suspension of the law in their favour, he granted their request, promising to attend himself to be a witness of their valour. At the appointed time and place he accordingly appeared with the Provost Marshal of the army, and commanding the duellists to fight till one was slain, declared his intention of ordering the other for instant execution. There was but little inclination to prosecute the quarrel further with the certainty of so fatal a result to both combatants; the King's firmness entirely put an end to the practice in his armies, and the courage of his officers was

reserved to be displayed in its proper field against the enemy.

The siege of Dantzic had now lasted a considerable time; in the preceding year the citizens had made a gallant sally with their fleet, and had inflicted considerable loss on the Swedish squadron which the King had stationed to prevent all entrance to their harbour; and Gustavus, finding himself unable to maintain the blockade by sea, was pressing his advances on the land side with great vigour, when he received so severe a wound from a musket-ball that for some time his life was almost despaired of; and his generals, dispirited at his danger, were slackening in their efforts, when, after some unusual rains, the Vistula rose to such a height that the flood swept away the besiegers' works, and the temporary bridges which had been thrown across it, and compelled the Swedes to break up their camp and to raise the siege.

The terrible Thirty Years War, as it was afterwards named from its unprecedented duration, had now been raging in Germany for ten years, when circumstances arose which drew Gustavus into its vortex, and determined the whole course of his subsequent life.

Wallestein, who had lately been created Duke of Mecklenburg, had determined to occupy all the seaports of Pomerania as the only means of preventing the invasion of Germany which he anticipated.

Stralsund, an important city opposite to the island of Rugen, claimed its privilege as an Imperial and Hanseatic free town, and refused to admit his troops. Exasperated at this denial, he ordered Field Marshal Arnheim to besiege it, swearing that he would take it, if it were fastened by a chain of adamant to the heavens. Christian of Denmark sent some Scotch infantry to reinforce the garrison, and Gustavus, whose aid and protection the citizens had implored, sent a body of troops to their assistance, under the command of a Scotch officer, David Leslie, who afterwards carried the experience he had acquired in these wars to aid the rebels in his native land, where he broke the last hope of the Royalists on the fatal field of Philiphaugh. The defence made was so resolute that, though Wallestein himself arrived to take the command, he was forced to raise the siege, and this event, the first occasion on which that great commander was baffled, raised in no small degree the reputation of Gustavus on the continent of Europe; while the alliance to which it led between Sweden and the city which she had saved, greatly facilitated the subsequent invasion of Germany.

Wallestein consoled himself for his disappointment by falling on the Danish army and almost destroying it; and Christian, disheartened by the loss, and jealous of Gustavus, showed a desire for peace, for which Wallestein, who dreaded the power of the

Danish navy, was equally eager. Plenipotentiaries from the two powers met at Lubec at the beginning of the year 1629; to which town Gustavus also sent ambassadors, who, however, were refused admission to the conferences, and all participation in the treaty.

The troubles in Bohemia, which had been the original cause of the war, were terminated by the expulsion of the Elector Palatine, and his subsequent deprivation of all his territories; and the Emperor Ferdinand had it now in his power to enlarge the peace which had been concluded at Lubec, so as to include all the belligerent powers in its provisions. There was neither state nor monarch who was not most anxious for such a measure. Wallestein himself would have been glad to unite all Christendom in peace, that he might have had an opportunity of leading its confederated armies against the Turks; but the Court of Rome refused to sanction any treaty which should grant toleration to the Protestants, and, instead of peace, stimulated the bigoted Ferdinand to more violent measures of hostility and opression. Since the Diet of Augsburg, much ecclesiastical property, previously held by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, had been secularised; much had been made over to the Protestant Church. By a new decree, called the Edict of Restitution, it was suddenly ordered that all the property, which had thus been alienated from the Roman Catholic Church, should be instantly

restored to it. This decree, though its operation was subsequently extended over the whole German Empire, was at first confined to Upper Germany and Wurtemburg; and commissioners and troops were poured into those districts to compel obedience to the Edict. They displayed no hesitation, no compunction, no mercy. The moment that the commissioners appeared in any place, the Protestant service was suspended, the churches were stripped of their bells, the altars and pulpits were thrown down, the Protestant Bibles seized and burnt, and gibbets were erected to terrify, or, if need be, to punish all who should venture to disobey or to resist. In Bohemia, the Emperor proceeded to still more furious measures, for there an additional edict was published, that all women of the Protestant or Evangelical persuasion, as it was called, who had married Roman Catholics, should be banished, though this decree was subsequently so far modified that they were allowed to remain in the country during the lifetime of their husbands.

It was evident, that nothing less than the entire destruction of the Protestant religion was determined on, and the German Protestants in consequence turned their eyes towards the king of Sweden. Wallestein, who was no less apprehensive of his entering Germany, than they were desirous of it, endeavoured to prevent it by rousing Sigismund of Poland to greater exertions; and sent

him a reinforcement of 10,000 men under Arnheim, whom he charged to drive Gustavus out of Poland, adding, that if he failed, he should himself undertake the task.

Arnheim, having been joined by Sirot, a French officer of the highest reputation, and by the Polish general Conospoliski, conducted himself with great activity, and a severe battle took place near Marienverder on the Vistula, in which, though Gustavus behaved with the greatest personal intrepidity, having his hat shot off by Sirot himself, and even having been for a moment prisoner to a body of Polish cavalry, who were ignorant of the value of their prize, he was at last forced to retreat with the loss of some of his artillery. He accordingly retired to the camp at Marienburg, where he entrenched himself with such skill that, when a few days afterwards Sigismund himself arrived with a considerable additional body of troops, it was found wholly impracticable to force his position; and the one or two attempts which were made upon it were repulsed with heavy loss to the attacking Poles.

The war with Poland was, however, not destined to last long. Richelieu, who had now attained to the supreme direction of affairs in France, was beginning to adopt anew the system of politics which had been almost forgotten since the death of Henry IV., and to turn all his views towards the

one object of checking and depressing the power of the House of Austria. With this design, he offered his mediation to the King of Poland, sent the celebrated Capuchin, Father Joseph, to urge Gustavus to moderation, and to tempt him by representations of the danger to which the minor Pinces of Germany were exposed from the ambition of the Emperor, to choose rather to go to the assistance of the Duke of Bavaria and his confederates, than to continue to press a discomfited enemy, like the King of Poland, to his utter ruin. Accordingly, peace for six years was concluded, between Sweden and Poland; leaving Gustavus in possession of the greater part of his conquests, and at leisure to turn his attention to those more important events in which the general welfare of the whole of Eastern Europe was concerned. Father Joseph at the same time inflicted a second wound of almost equal importance upon the Emperor, by so working on his mind, by representations of the extortions and rapacity of Wallestein's troops, and of the secret and ambitious designs of the Duke himself, that he prevailed upon him to deprive that Prince of his command; and so to discard his ablest general at the very moment when he had the most pressing occasion for his services.

There is nothing more remarkable in the history of this long contest than the manner in which religion and politics mingled with and counteracted

each other. The war was undertaken by the Emperor avowedly with the object of checking the encroachments which the Reformation was making upon the Roman Catholic religion; yet we find the Pope, in his character of a temporal sovereign, so much alarmed at the extent of the power in the north of Italy possessed and claimed by the Emperor, that his hatred of heretics was inferior to his dread of so dangerous a neighbour. He feared, as he had some reason to fear, that his triumph might be more dangerous to Rome than his defeat; and, influenced by the same views, Richelieu, a cardinal of the Romish Church, did not scruple to ally himself with a prince whose sole object was the downfall of that Church, against one whose avowed purpose was its restoration to its former power and dignity.

Gustavus had now resolved to invade Germany, and by decisive measures to bring the war to a termination. According to his usual practice he consulted the Swedish Senate, opened his views to them, and requested their concurrence. The support which he received was not at first unhesitating or unanimous. Oxenstiern himself, who on more than one occasion, to use his own language, sought to moderate the fire of his master's temperament with the ice of his own, thought an offensive war a too audacious measure, and distrusted the resources of Sweden, when they should come to be weighed

in the balance against those of the Emperor of all Germany. Others, whom the Minister's hesitation encouraged to urge their scruples freely, thought that the German Princes who were menaced by Ferdinand, if they could defend themselves with the aid of Gustavus, could defend themselves without it, while if they could not, they would only involve him in their ruin;—that, as the Baltic protected them from invasion, so it made any aggression on their part unjustifiable; and that, if they remained quiet, they themselves were in no danger.

It was argued, on the other hand, that the assistance which the Emperor had sent to Sigismund was a sufficient insult to, and proof of a hostile disposition towards Sweden to justify the strongest measures. That if the German Princes were left to themselves, they were manifestly unequal to maintain a successful contest with the Emperor; who, after he had subdued them, would turn his arms against Sweden, when it could no longer have an ally left, but would only, by its almost insular position, obtain the respite of being devoured last. That the boldest policy was the safest; if they waited the Emperor's attack in Sweden itself, defeat would be destruction; if they should be beaten in Germany their retreat was secure, and the Baltic would afford an impregnable line of defence.

By such arguments, the King brought the Senate

over to his opinion, and, when they had determined on the invasion, there was no lukewarmness in providing him with everything requisite to ensure success. Yet, if we compare the magnitude of the enterprise which was now to be undertaken with the means employed, the one appears strangely disproportionate to the other; for Gustavus was about to assail the combined power of Spain and Austria, and of the whole of Roman Catholic Germany, while his entire army, including 8000 recruits under Oxenstiern, whom he stationed partly as a guard and partly as a reserve in East Prussia, did not exceed 27,000 men; and even of this small force, a very large portion were foreigners, chiefly English and Scotch. The wars in which he had already been engaged, slight as the loss with which they were attended had been, must have been a heavy drain on the resources of Sweden, such as they were in that age, before that country would have been contented with furnishing so small a number of its own citizens for the service of their great monarch.

Before leaving his kingdom on an expedition which would necessitate a long absence from it, and which could not fail to be attended with such danger as must make his return uncertain, Gustavus directed his attention most carefully to providing for the regular administration of its affairs. The Council of State he erected into a kind of regency;

the management of the revenues and finances of the nation he entrusted to the Palatine of the Rhine, John Casimir, his brother-in-law; and when all was ready for his departure, he appeared in the Diet at Stockholm to make his last address to his assembled Sênate; his only daughter, then a child of four years old, the same Christina who afterwards abdicated the Swedish throne, and whose subsequent eccentricities afforded such diversion to, and whose licentiousness gave grounds for, such scandal throughout Europe, had already been formally acknowledged as his successor. Her father, now on this last visit to the States, as the Swedish Senate was called, bore her in his arms, and obtained from them a renewal of their oath of allegiance to her in case of his own death. If he should fall, he hoped to leave them cause to bless his memory, by bequeathing to them the blessings of civil and religious freedom, which it was the object of his intended enterprise to secure.

It was at the end of May that he thus addressed them. On the 24th of June—the very day on which, exactly a century before, the confession of Augsburg had been presented to Charles the Fifth—he landed near Penemünde, and his first act on German ground was to throw himself on his knees and thank God aloud for the protection which he had thus far vouchsafed to himself and his expedition; admonishing some of his officers whose remarks he

overheard, that "a good Christian could not be a bad soldier," and that "the man who had prayed to his God had already completed the most important half of his day's work."

In such a spirit as this it was that he was preparing to lead into Germany an army such as had never before been seen in that country; Wallestein and the other great imperial generals were superstitious, but not religious: the Providence in whom they trusted, according to their ideas and sayings, favoured not the humble Christian, but the strong battalions. Led by such chiefs, the officers of their armies were extortionate, licentious, and profuse; the common soldiers were pitiless plunderers, ravishers, and murderers; led by Gustavus, his army, even in the intoxicating hour of victory, was orderly, temperate, and merciful: daily did each regiment form round its chaplain in the morning to implore the protection of the God of Battles; in the evening, to thank him for its safety. The imperial soldier, provided his military duties were discharged with courage and precision, was subjected to no further restraint, his nights were spent in revelry and gaming, while the means for the gratification of these passions were sought at the expense of the inhabitants of the wretched district in which he might happen to be encamped. Hardly could any complaint from a peaceful citizen against a trooper reach the ear of the general; more hardly and more

rarely still did it meet with any but a contemptuous reception. In the Swedish camp, on the other hand, the strictness of the requirements of military discipline was not counterbalanced by any relaxation of the laws of peace: justice was not for a moment blinded to crime or even to disorder; gaming and quarrelling among the soldiers themselves was repressed or punished, as well as all acts of rapine or violence towards the people of the country; and the natives of the districts which had invited them could hail their victories without finding the successes of their friends almost as disastrous to themselves as the triumphs of their enemies. The virtues which Gustavus exacted from others he practised himself. The imperial generals maintained their dignity by all the appliances of luxury and the most profuse exhibitions of wealth and splendour; Wallestein himself, though personally indifferent to such things, was served in gold, and waited upon by officers of the noblest birth in Germany. From the camp of Gustavus the temptations to intemperance were banished equally with the vice itself. The equipage of the king's own tent, the vessels of his own table, were of the plainest description; and their monarch's severity was rendered palatable to the soldiers by the evidence of their own senses, that he was not more indulgent to himself than to the meanest trooper in his service.

When the news of the Swedes having effected their landing reached Vienna, it made no great impression on the advisers of the Emperor. The common language held among the courtiers was "that Gustavus was but a king of snow, who would melt to pieces as he advanced southward;" and Torquato Conti, the imperial general in Pomerania (a man of such penetration that he is said to have been the first to discern the talents of Mazarin, and to have been the founder of his fortune by recommending him, when a very young man, to the Pope), boasted that he would find his troops very different enemies from those whom he had hitherto encountered, and that, "He would soon learn that he had left his laurels in the groves of Prussia." Wallestein's language, before he was deprived of his command, had been equally contemptuous; Tilly alone appreciated the character of the man and the importance of the coming struggle, and warned the Diet at Ratisbon, that they would for the future have to deal with an enemy of great courage and great skill; that his army, though drawn from so many different nations, was united in attachment to and confidence in him; that, to use his own comparison, "He was a gamester, in playing with whom not to lose would be to win a great deal."

Before advancing into the interior of the country, Gustavus took care to secure the base of his operations by making himself master of the most

important towns on the coast. Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, a feeble and superannuated prince, was desirous to remain neutral; but Gustavus, declaring, in the words of Scripture, that "he who was not with him was against him," compelled him to take a decided part, and to admit him into his towns. Accordingly the gates of Stettin, the capital of the duchy at the mouth of the Oder, were opened to him; Storgard, Wolgast, and other strong towns, received him, one after another; and Conti, unable to check his progress, could only wreak his vengeance on the unfortunate Pomeranians by ravaging their country; a piece of inhumanity which strengthened Gustavus by driving many Pomeranians, through hopes of safety or revenge, to enlist in his army, and by exciting the Senate to furnish him with a large pecuniary contribution towards the expenses of the campaign; and, shortly after, to acquiesce in a treaty of perpetual alliance, defensive and offensive, between Sweden and Pomerania, and in the latter country being mortgaged to the former for the expenses of its protection during this war.

It was plain to the most confident of the Imperialists that they had formed a very erroneous estimate of their new enemy. A few months before, Wallestein had not condescended to reply to a letter sent to him by Gustavus; but now the Emperor himself thought proper to endeavour to open a correspondence with him, and sent an envoy to his

camp with a letter remonstrating with him in not uncourteous language (except that it did not give him the title of King) for invading the empire, the internal quarrels and divisions of which did not affect either him or his dominions; inviting him to peace; and threatening, if he declined it and persisted in interfering in matters which concerned the Germanic body alone, to postpone the chastisement of all other enemies, and to direct the whole force of the empire against the Swedish army. Gustavus excused himself from sending any written reply at present to this epistle, alleging to the envoy that he had received a wound from an *eagle* (the armorial bearing of the Emperor), which must prevent him from holding a pen; at the same time the Roman Catholic electors of the empire addressed another letter to him, giving him now the title of King, though they had previously affected to treat him as an usurper, and urging him to evacuate the empire, and, if he had any grounds of complaint, to rely on the humanity and justice of the Emperor. Gustavus received the letter and pursued his conquests; after some weeks of uninterrupted success he sent a written reply to the electors, justifying his invasion, but professing his willingness to make peace on such conditions as should be safe and honourable to himself and his allies; and, later in the year, nearly three months after the date of the Emperor's letter, he replied to that also, attributing the com-

mencement of hostilities to the Emperor himself, who had, without provocation and without warning, attacked him in Poland and in Prussia; but repeating the same expressions of willingness to agree to a general peace that were contained in his letter to the electors.

While these events were taking place, Conti was making vigorous and skilful efforts to check the advance of the Swedes, and to render the advantages that they had gained barren and unprofitable; but all his efforts were frustrated by the vigilance of Gustavus. He made an attempt upon Stettin, in which he lost a great number of men. With no better success he endeavoured to throw a reinforcement into Colbergen, which Gustavus was besieging, and which was of great importance, as being the magazine in which the Imperialists had stored the plunder which they had collected in the last two years' campaigns. It was now November; the imperial troops, accustomed to a less rigorous climate than that of the coasts of the Baltic, could hardly keep the field; (indeed the winter months had usually been a period of total inactivity, and of a formal or tacit suspension of arms). Conti was therefore desirous to retire into winter quarters, and would gladly have entered into a temporary truce with that view; but Gustavus rejected all overtures which had such an object. He had provided his army beforehand with warm dresses

of sheepskin, and replied to the imperial commissioners that "the Swedes were soldiers in winter as well as in summer." He had been engaged for some time in strengthening the fortifications of Stettin, the defences of which bore no proportion to its importance; and now he employed the greater part of his army as masons and pioneers, replying to one of his captains, who complained of the obstacles offered to such works by the severity of the season, that the earth was always frozen to the indolent and idle.

Conti resigned his command, and was succeeded by the Count de Schomberg, who, a month later, resigned the chief command to Tilly. Tilly, on the dismissal of Wallestein, had been appointed generalissimo of the imperial armies. He was now seventy-two years of age, and, though his whole life had been passed in war, though he had commanded in no less than thirty-six battles, he had never suffered a defeat. He had but lately exchanged the Bavarian Service for that of the Emperor, and he brought to the aid of his new master a military reputation second to none, a degree of experience and skill that could hardly be surpassed, and of cruelty that was as yet unsuspected perhaps even by himself. He was faithful to his sovereign, and devoted to his church; but his loyalty was unreasoning slavery; his religion persecuting bigotry. His political genius was of

a high order; but, unfortunately for his master, the advice that he gave was seldom followed. In person and dress he was said to be like the duke of Alva, and the terror which such a resemblance was calculated to excite, was but too well justified by his conduct.

Gustavus commenced the year 1631, by entering into a treaty on perfectly equal terms with France. It had long been impeded by arrogant claims of superiority on the part of that nation to which Gustavus refused to submit; these were now abandoned, Sweden promised to maintain an army of 30,000 men in Germany, and France agreed to pay Sweden a large yearly subsidy; while, if Gustavus were victorious, he was bound not to disturb either the Constitution of the Empire, or the Roman Catholic religion, in the places which he should conquer. England and Holland acceded to this treaty; and even many of the Roman Catholic princes, though they declined the invitation which was sent to them to become formal parties to it, yet viewed the progress of the Swedish arms with less apprehension now that the security of their religion was guaranteed by so powerful a sovereign of their persuasion as the King of France.

Colbergen fell in the early part of the year; but the limits of this sketch will not allow me, nor if they did, would it be worth while, to enumerate even the names of the different towns and fortresses

which were taken one after another, to the number, it is said, of eighty in the first eight months after Gustavus landed in Germany.

Tilly, who had been protecting his troops from the weather in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, brought his army from thence to relieve Damin; but, finding that town had capitulated before his arrival, he turned upon New Brandenburgh where Kniphausen was with 2000 men; and, having intercepted despatches from Gustavus, in which that general was ordered to withdraw his men, took the place, put the garrison to the sword, with the exception of the commander himself and a few others, and gave up the inhabitants to the mercy of his soldiers. Any loss of reputation which the Swedes incurred by this disaster was speedily effaced by the capture of the important city of Frankfort. It was by far the most important place in that part of Germany, and Schomberg himself had been placed in it by Tilly with a picked garrison of 8000 men. The fortifications however were far from perfect; and Gustavus, without sparing time for the more regular preliminary operations of a siege, immediately on his arrival under the walls, decided on assaulting it at once, burst open the gates with petards, and forced his way, sword in hand, into the middle of the city, while other storming parties scaled the walls in a different quarter. For the first time Gustavus found himself unable to restrain

his men: burning to avenge the cruelties which the Imperialists had committed at New Brandenburgh, they in some respects imitated them. The unarmed citizens indeed were safe from their violence, but the garrison found no mercy. Great numbers had fallen in the assault, but those who had escaped were slaughtered in cold blood. To their petitions for quarter, the stern answer was given, that "New Brandenburgh quarter" was all that they should find: they were cut down, they were driven into the Oder, none were left alive in the town, and very few escaped from it. The loss of the Swedes did not exceed three hundred men.

Laudsperg was not as rich or considerable a city as Frankfort, but as a fortress it was almost equally important, lying as it did on the borders of Prussia and Poland, and threatening the communications of Gustavus while it remained in the hands of his enemies. It was strongly garrisoned with nearly 5000 men, who in the last campaign had twice repulsed his attacks. He now conceived the idea of surprising it; taking with him a small body of men actually inferior in numbers to the garrison within the town, by a rapid march of forty miles in two days; transporting his artillery by roads which were supposed to be impassable for heavy guns, he arrived under the walls before any intelligence arrived of his having quitted Frankfort, and reduced it so speedily, that it surrendered on the

16th of April, only twelve days after the fall of Frankfort.

Tilly had been on his march to relieve Frankfort, when the news reached him of its capture; on which he retraced his steps, and sought to console himself for his loss by pressing the siege of Magdeburg with increased vigour. Magdeburg was an independent city, lying on the Elbe, between the Electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg. The name means the Maiden Town, and it bore for its arms a crowned virgin; representing Venus who had been its tutelar deity, till Charlemagne converted the Saxons to Christianity, and the goddess of Cyprus into the Virgin Mary. It was rich, populous, and free; but the extent of its walls was too great for it to have ever been thoroughly fortified, and the garrison, scarcely exceeding 2000 men, was quite inadequate to the defence of the place. Pappenhiem and Tilly had invested it early in March, and they were favoured by a small party in the town, from whom they learnt the scantiness of its means of resistance. The governor, however, General Falkenberg, held out with great resolution, looking confidently for succour, which Gustavus was well aware of the importance of bringing to him; but, before marching to his relief, it was necessary for him to negotiate with the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony for permission to pass through portions of their territory. It was some time before he

could overcome the fear of the Emperor entertained by the Prussian Prince, and he was still urging his arguments on the Saxon when Magdeburg fell. Tilly had been thundering on the city for many days with heavy batteries, and had compelled the citizens to abandon many of their out-works, when, fearing lest the approach of Gustavus, (who, while negotiating with the Elector of Saxony, had advanced as far as Potsdam, and was now within three days' march) should compel him to raise the siege, he resolved on storming the defences that remained, and on the 10th of May, at daybreak, Pappenheim led the attack against the fated city.

All that gallantry could do, was done by Falkenberg; but his ammunition was almost exhausted, the garrison was inadequate to the defence of so many assailable points as the wide extent of the walls presented; and it is even said that traitorous citizens had impeded their march in some directions by drawing chains across the streets. The attack succeeded at all points. Who shall describe the horrors that ensued?

> *Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando*
> *Explicet?*

Truly has Schiller spoken of the scene as one for which history has no language, poetry no pencil. All the atrocities that lust, all that revenge, all that superstition more pitiless than either could devise,

were poured at once upon the miserable inhabitants. The courage of the soldier, the unarmed submission of the citizen, the dignity of the matron, the innocence of the maiden, the helplessness of the nurseling infant, were alike unable to shield them from death, and from outrage more terrible than any death. The husband could not defend the wife, nor the mother protect her daughter; the very temples of God were equally powerless, and streamed with the blood of dishonoured and murdered women. With devilish joy the conquerors gloated over their varieties and refinements of cruelty; some hacked their victims limb from limb, some threw children alive into the flames of the burning houses, some amused themselves by pinning living babies to their mothers' breast with their lances. The streets were choked with the dead and the dying; the rapid course of the Elbe was impeded with the corpses which rose above its waters; 400 only, the richest of the citizens, were saved by the avarice of some officers, who preferred their ransom to their slaughter; two churches and a few houses alone remained unconsumed by the fire which had destroyed the rest of the town. Since the wrath of God had descended upon Jerusalem, no such utter destruction had destroyed both citizens and city.

Of those unheard-of barbarities, the shame and the guilt does not rest upon the common soldiers alone: Tilly took no measures to check them,

Pappenheim expressed an exulting approval of them. They were deeply avenged; the two imperialist generals had hitherto enjoyed a career of unbroken success and glory. That career was ended; Tilly's arms were no longer invincible, and a year had not elapsed when, after many reverses, he was borne mortally wounded from the field of his defeat on the Lech. Pappenheim had no better fortune; and their master, the Emperor, who received the sad tidings with inhuman exultation, found that triumph so used had produced him nothing but more numerous and more desperate enemies.

Gustavus resolved to leave nothing undone to take a sufficient revenge for the horrors which he had been unable to prevent. And, having now compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to leave Spandau in his hands, and to give him free entrance into Custrin, he found himself able to adopt a bolder line of operations. He reinstated John Albert in the Duchy of Mechlenburgh, of which he had been stripped when the Emperor conferred it on Wallestein; and, having received large supplies of money from France, he proceeded to pursue Tilly with great energy. He took Havelburg and Werben, with the garrisons which had been left to defend them; and at this latter place he surrounded himself with intrenchments, the remains of which exist to this day, to attest the skill with which they

were planned. The position thus taken up was too important for Tilly to behold with indifference; and too strong for him to force. He attacked it, and was repulsed with some discredit, and with great loss; for which he sought to console himself by ravaging Saxony. This again was a measure injurious to the Emperor's interest, although executed in obedience to his orders; since it only compelled the Elector to seek the alliance of Gustavus, as his sole protection from complete destruction.

While these events were taking place, Gustavus received two most welcome reinforcements. His Queen crossed the Baltic with 8000 men, and her voyage bore with itself the omens of success, disembarking, as she did, while a public festival was being solemnised at Wolgast, to celebrate the anniversary of her husband's landing with his army in the preceding year. The Marquis of Hamilton too arrived from England with 6000 men. A second attempt of Tilly to force the King's lines, was not more successful than the former; and he now found Gustavus's assertion to be true, that he could not be compelled to fight, except at such times and on such ground as he himself should choose.

Tilly retired towards Leipsic, on which Gustavus broke up his camp to observe his motions; but, though he pursued him with vigour, he could not save Leipsic, the fortifications of which city were in such a state as made resistance hopeless. It

was known that large reinforcements were on their way to join Tilly, and, after much deliberation, Gustavus resolved to attack him before they could arrive. Leipsic had surrendered on the 5th of September, and on the 7th, Gustavus with the Swedish and Saxon armies crossed the Mulda to compel the conqueror to fight a battle for the preservation of his conquest.

It had been no part of Tilly's plan to bring on a battle before the arrival of the additional forces which he was expecting, but he allowed his sounder judgment to be overruled by the impatience of Pappenheim. He burned too to show that he was not, as some of Wallestein's admirers had hinted, afraid to encounter the King of Sweden.

The battle of Leipsic, or Breitenfeldt, was fought on the 7th of September, and seldom have armies met to decide a more important contest, for the stake was no less than the fate of Germany, and of the Protestant religion on the continent of Europe. If Gustavus had been beaten, his allies would have fallen from him, he must have retired to his own kingdom, and there would have been no power left, able to resist for a moment the will of the Emperor, and of the priests whose creature he was. His victory gave courage to the Protestants in every part of Europe, and raised a spirit that for sixteen years after his death, maintained an equal struggle with the League, and finally secured liberty

and freedom of conscience to all who had taken a part in the contest.

The numbers of the rival armies were nearly equal, amounting to about 35,000 men on each side; and the field of battle was an extensive undulating plain, offering but few advantages to either party. Tilly's infantry was drawn up in two lines, with a third line in reserve, on a slightly rising ground, with his artillery in front, except a small battery of heavy guns on the right. Early in the morning the King advanced in two columns to the attack; the right column consisting of Swedes and British, the left of Saxons. In their front was a small streamlet called the Lober, and the moment that the Scotch regiments who formed the van of the Swedish column had crossed it, they were furiously attacked by Pappenheim with his cuirassiers. The Scotch however were themselves supported by cavalry; they repulsed their assailants, and continued their advance towards the small hamlet of Podelaity. Pappenheim set fire to the hamlet, as Menschikoff did to Bouliouk, at the battle of the Alma, and again attacked the advancing column, which deployed into line, and presented a front on which the imperial cavalry made repeated but fruitless charges, till at last it was repulsed with severe loss, leaving a large body of infantry, which had been sent to its assistance, isolated in the middle of the plain. Tilly's regiments were arrayed in the

old style; with a dense mass of spearmen in the centre, and lines of musqueteers on the outside, so that the spearmen could not protect the shooters, while their spears were rendered useless by the line of their comrades in their front. Without a moment's delay the regiment was charged by the Swedish cavalry, and the musqueteers were cut down; the spearmen, denuded of their supporters, were attacked by musqueteers, completely routed, and their colonel, the Duke of Holstein, who, strange to say, was a Protestant, was slain.

The Swedish army was now in two lines, as well as that of the imperialists; but the distance between the Swedish lines was greater, and in front of the second line was a reserve of artillery. The cavalry in both armies was drawn up on the flanks; and the Swedes had also some cavalry in their reserve. Gustavus commanded the right wing, Arnheim led the Saxons on the left; the second line and the reserve were under British officers, Colonel Hepburn a Scotchman, and Colonel Hall. After a short cannonade, Tilly charged the whole line of his enemies at once; the Swedes with their heavy fire and steady front beat back his attack; but the Saxons were broken in a moment, the Elector himself fled from the field, thinking that all was lost; and messengers were despatched to Munich and Vienna with news that the victory was gained. Tilly checked his troops in their pursuit of the

flying Saxons, in order to fall on the flank of the Swedes; but Horn, who was on their left, had already brought up three regiments from the second line, and bore back the impetuous onset of the Austrians with firmness and complete success. Gustavus availed himself of the confusion into which the imperialists were thrown, and, advancing his first line, took the artillery in front of the enemy's line and turned it against themselves; Tilly, undaunted amid his misfortunes, made one last stand with his reserve, and at last retired with the relics of four regiments in good order to a wood in the rear of his position, where night protected him from any further pursuit. But he had lost 7000 men in killed and wounded, while 3000 prisoners, 30 guns, 100 standards, and all the baggage of the defeated army were trophies of victory in the hands of the conquerors. The Saxons lost 2000 men, the Swedes 700. Tilly, who had been wounded in the battle, retreated towards Halle; but so rapidly had his army dispersed on its defeat, that he could hardly count two thousand men round his standards. The reputation of his invincibility was gone, and with it the hopes of plunder and all the motives which could attract men to the service of a leader whose barbarities had rendered him universally odious.

In the evening the Elector of Saxony returned to the Swedish camp; where, far from reproaching

him with the misconduct of his troops, Gustavus thanked him for having advised the battle. The Elector, in his exultation, promised to secure for him the Roman crown, which Ferdinand was seeking to have conferred upon his own son; and the two Princes proceeded to concert measures to enable them to reap the complete fruits of the victory. It was decided that the Saxons should invade Bohemia, and that the Swedes should march through Franconia towards the Rhine. Gustavus could prosecute his advance with safety, as his victory had not only encouraged several of the smaller independent Princes to declare themselves on his side, but had struck terror into those who were secretly jealous of or openly hostile to him; so that Christian made public rejoicings at Copenhagen, and Sigismund of Poland sent ambassadors to congratulate him. His march was one unvaried and unchecked triumph; some towns opened their gates to him of their own accord, others refused and were carried by storm, but none offered any successful resistance; and, before the end of the year, he had made himself master of Erfurt, Wertheim, Wurzburg, Marienburg, and Frankfort on the Maine. Tilly, who had retired into Brunswick after the battle of Breitenfeldt, having drawn the garrisons from the towns in Lower Saxony, and having been reinforced by 12,000 men from Lorraine, in vain endeavoured to save Wurzburg; but,

though eager to efface the recollection of the defeat which he had sustained, he was strictly forbidden to risk a battle, and could scarcely even delay the progress of the conqueror. The Duke of Lorraine himself, being subject to the orders of no superior officer, made a feeble endeavour to withstand him; but his army was routed, and the example which he set to his troops was that of precipitate flight. He wrote a submissive letter to Gustavus, who had more important objects in view than the chastisement of a Prince who had neither power nor courage; and with such contempt was he regarded by all classes, that as he was retreating through a small village, a peasant struck his horse. "Ride faster, Sir," said the clown, "you must make more haste than that if you mean to escape from the great King of Sweden."

At Frankfort Gustavus was joined by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had reduced the greater part of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, with 10,000 men; and, in the mean time, his general, Tott, had succeeded in restoring the whole of Mecklenburg to John Albert. What remained of Magdeburg was recovered by Banier, who, with 8000 men, was still on the Elbe. The King now prepared to cross the Rhine, the passage of which he forced at Oppenheim, where his precipitation and disregard to his personal safety, very nearly threw him into the hands of a body of Spanish horse,

who attacked him the moment that he landed on the western side of the river. It was with great difficulty that he was saved from their superior numbers; but at last he made good his position, and proceeded to invest Mayence. Seventy years afterwards, when an English general had in nearly the same country rivalled his triumphs and his renown, a column surmounted by an armed lion was raised to mark the spot where the champion of Europe had first landed on the left bank of the mighty river.

Mayence resisted but a few days. Manheim was taken by the skill of Duke Bernard of Weimar. Spires and Landau opened their gates, when Gustavus closed his glorious campaign by retiring to Mayence, and taking up his winter quarters in that city. During the winter, attempts were made by more powers than one, to check his progress by negotiations. His advance towards the Rhine, after the capture of Wurzburg, instead of into Bavaria and Austria, had raised suspicions of his ultimate designs in more than one quarter. Richelieu himself regarded with suspicion his advance towards the French frontier, which seemed inconsistent with the objects which he was understood to have in view; and was inclined to allow the Duke of Bavaria, and the inferior Princes of the League, to adopt a complete neutrality. But this did not suit the superior penetration of

Gustavus; and, while the negotiations were proceeding, he intercepted a letter from the Duke of Bavaria to Pappenheim, which proved that the Duke's only object in appearing to embrace such an idea, had been to gain time for more extensive military preparations. Early in January he was joined again by the Queen, who brought him a strong body of cavalry. In her society he spent some weeks, till in February he bade her farewell, broke up from his winter quarters, and marched towards the Upper Palatinate, where Tilly had defeated Horn, and taken Bamberg. Nuremburg received him with open arms, as he proceeded towards the Danube. Donauwerth was taken in a day; and he ascended the small river Lech, till he arrived at a spot near the small town of Raine, where Tilly was occupying a strongly fortified camp in the hopes of barring his further progress. That general had destroyed all the bridges, and flattered himself that the river, always deep and rapid, and now swollen by the melting of the Alpine snows, presented an impassable obstacle; nor had he trusted only to this natural bulwark, but had planted batteries along the bank, and garrisons at different points up the river as far as Augsburg. His generals strongly advised Gustavus to pause before attempting to force such a position. Should he succeed in crossing the river, victory might not be decisive; while defeat would be destruction to

an army the retreat of which was cut off by such an obstacle in its rear. But the King, having by a personal reconnaissance discovered that his bank of the river was higher than the other, availed himself of this fact, to plant a heavy battery, with which he drove back Tilly's Bavarians, while he threw across the stream a bridge which he had secretly prepared. Higher up, a narrow ford passable for cavalry had been discovered; and, the moment that the bridge was firm, the Swedes crossed the river at both points with great rapidity. At the very beginning of the battle, Tilly was mortally wounded; Altringer, the second in command, was disabled; and the Duke of Bavaria, the only general who remained, retreated with precipitation but in good order to Ingoldstadt, to which town Tilly had been removed, and where he died the next day.

Augsburg was one of the earliest prizes of this victory. It surrendered on the 10th of April, only five days after the battle; and then Gustavus turned northwards to the Danube to lay siege to Ingoldstadt, in his pursuit of the Duke of Bavaria; but the garrison made a gallant resistance, during which he was exposed to great personal danger, having his horse killed under him by one cannon-ball, and the young Margrave of Baden slain at his side by another; till finding that the Bavarians, in compliance with the dying advice of Tilly, had

occupied Ratisbon also, he raised the siege, and returned towards Bavaria, to summon Munich, which surrendered at his approach, and in which he found a large treasure belonging to the Duke, and ample supplies of artillery and ammunition.

He was now to cope with a new enemy. Ferdinand had been taught by the battle of Breitenfeldt to repent of having sacrificed Wallestein to his enemies; and his minister Questenberg opened a correspondence with the disgraced marshal. The negotiations proceeded slowly till the Emperor wrote with his own hand to entreat his discarded servant to forget what was past, and not to forsake him in the hour of adversity. It was not Wallestein's purpose to refuse such solicitations; he was well pleased to be recalled from the inactivity in which he had been so long lying; at the same time, he showed himself fully conscious of the strength which he derived from the confessed weakness of the Emperor and the imperial armies. The conditions which he demanded amounted to an entire transference of all control over those armies from the Emperor to himself. His command over all the German forces was to be single and unlimited. The Emperor was not to approach them; was to have no power to grant commissions or honours. Even the conquests that should be made were to be at the sole disposal of Wallestein. All that the Emperor was to have to do with the troops was

to pay them; while for the General's own pay, an imperial hereditary estate was to be assigned. The Duchy of Mecklenburg was to be restored to him; and his command was not to be abrogated without formal and timely notice.

Ferdinand was in no condition to dispute these terms, which placed him at the mercy of his proud and injured subject. As soon as they were conceded, Wallestein raised his standard, and it soon became apparent, that, in one respect at least, he had not overrated his power. From every quarter soldiers flocked to join him. More than three hundred officers from every part of Austria, who had been deaf to the necessities of their country, while its resources were wielded by chiefs of less genius or inferior popularity, applied for commissions, and desired to raise troops for the new generalissimo. Within three months he was at the head of 40,000 men; and on the 4th of May, he opened the campaign, by driving Arnheim out of Prague, which that officer and the Elector of Saxony had taken in the preceding winter; the neighbouring cities submitted at the first summons, and Bohemia was recovered as speedily as it had been lost.

While he was thus triumphing in Bohemia, Maximilian remained at Ratisbon. Gustavus, whose army was numerically inferior to that of either of them, hastened to the Upper Palatinate, in the hopes of preventing their junction; but, before he

could arrive on their lines, the Duke of Bavaria had reached Egra, and united himself with Wallestein.

On the 29th of April Sigismond, King of Poland, the cousin and old enemy of Gustavus, died; the question whom the Diet would elect as his successor was long in suspense; and, though before the end of the year Vladislaus, the eldest son of the deceased sovereign, was elected, there are not wanting authors who assert that Gustavus might have obtained the vacant crown, and even that it was actually offered to him.

The junction of Maximilian and Wallestein placed the latter at the head of 60,000 men; a force with which Gustavus was in no condition to cope. He resolved, therefore, to follow the plan which he had before adopted with success, and to await in an entrenched camp the reinforcements which he knew were preparing for him. With the self-reliance of genius he even weakened his own army by detaching Hepburn with one body of men to Munich, to preserve that capital for him; and by sending Horn and Banier, and Duke Bernard away on separate commands, to prevent his being stripped of his conquests. Hearing that a body of Spaniards was preparing to cross into Germany from the Milanese territory, he negotiated successfully with the Swiss to induce them to refuse such a force permission to pass through their country, and at the

same time to permit him to enlist soldiers for his own army from among their nation; and then, taking and disarming one or two inferior towns on his way, he retired to Nuremburg, the neighbourhood of which city he had selected, as affording the most desirable situation in Germany for the position which he had resolved to take up. It was well chosen. Being almost in the centre of Germany it covered alike his conquests on the Rhine, on the Danube, and on the Maine; while it kept his communications with his allies, and with the coasts of the Baltic, open under all circumstances.

He had barely 20,000 men with him; not one-third of the hosts which were assembled under the banners of the Duke of Friedland—the title by which Wallestein was now generally known—but skill was destined to make up for the inferiority of numbers. The works which he had planned, surrounded the whole city and suburbs of Nuremburg; a wide fosse was fortified with bastions and redoubts, and all the other means of resistance known to the engineers of that age; and with such energy and rapidity was the work executed, while each individual soldier laboured under the eye of the king as if its completion depended on his own exertions, that, though Wallestein overtook him in little more than a fortnight from the commencement of operations, he found the defences impregnable and bristling with upwards of 300 guns.

Wallestein was too great a man to think it necessary to his reputation to attack troops so posted. "Battles enough," he said, "had been fought, and it was time to try another method." He resolved to show the King of Sweden that he also could raise entrenchments; and accordingly he took up a position at Furt, about five miles to the south-west of Nuremberg, so as to narrow the channels through which Gustavus received his supplies, and reduce him by famine to quit the lines which he had contrived with so much labour and skill. The rival plans led to a constant succession of skirmishes, in which Wallestein's superiority of numbers did not always insure him success. His principal magazine was at Freyenstadt, a small town about twenty-five miles to the south-east of Nuremburg, in which a large convoy of provisions from Austria and Bavaria arrived while he was completing his entrenchments. Gustavus sent Colonel Hanwalt to surprise the place by night, while he himself covered the movement with another body of troops. The enterprise succeeded in every part. Hanwalt burst open the gates with petards, carried the town by assault, bore off the provisions in triumph to Nuremburg, and retired, leaving the place in flames, and having destroyed everything which he could not carry off. Four thousand men whom Wallestein had sent under Colonel Spar, to insure the safety of the convoy, met with no better fate: they fell in with the troops with

which Gustavus was covering Hanwalt's expedition, and, though they made a gallant resistance, they were driven into a swamp and cut to pieces; and Spar himself taken prisoner.

The Swedes were elated at this success, when their spirits were damped by suffering a loss almost equal to that which they had inflicted, in the surprise of a great store of provisions which was on its way from Wurzburg to the King's camp, and which was intercepted and carried off by Isolan, one of the most brilliant of Wallestein's officers.

It was evident, however, that it was not by petty efforts and inconsiderable skirmishes such as these that the campaign was to be decided; and, the moment that Wallestein appeared before Nuremburg, Gustavus had sent pressing requisitions to his different lieutenants for reinforcements. The garrisons in Lower Saxony were diminished, all the detached parties were called in, so that at last Oxenstiern, Duke Bernard, and Banier had collected upwards of 40,000 men, with which they hastened to relieve their master, and about the middle of August they arrived at Nuremburg. Gustavus was now superior in numbers; but it was evident that, unless he could bring Wallestein to action, the reinforcements which he had received would be an injury rather than a benefit to him. Before their arrival scarcity had begun to cause terrible distress both in the camp and city; and, what was still more afflicting to the

King, want began to show its usual effects in impairing the discipline of his troops, who were becoming lawless, rapacious, and cruel, while some even of the superior officers had not escaped the contagion. The system of "general orders" had not yet been introduced, but Gustavus summoned all the principal officers to his own tent, and with great natural eloquence adjured them to repress all such conduct as threatened to bring disgrace on their holy cause. It was a bitter thing to him to be forced to contrast the conduct of the imperial troops with his own, to their disadvantage, but no one complained of any excesses of Wallestein's soldiers. Gustavus had not sought to enrich himself; pointing to his heavy military boots, "I have not," said he, "since I left Sweden, gained as much as this single pair of boots which now I wear." He entreated them to remember that they were Christian soldiers, and not to practise, nor to overlook in others, conduct which must draw down the anger of God upon their cause. He supported his address by some severe examples of punishment, and the common soldier was shamed at last into a patient enduring of privations which he saw that his King bore equally with himself.

The increased numbers which Gustavus now had in his camp of course made it more difficult than ever to support them. He resolved therefore to try and bring the enemy to battle. Accordingly,

as soon as the newly arrived troops had recovered from the fatigues of their march, he quitted his lines, and presented himself in order of battle before the camp of Wallestein, which he attacked at the same time with a cannonade. But Wallestein's entrenchments were not more assailable than his own had been, and the Duke was equally determined to show that he could not be compelled to fight when it did not accord with his own plan to do so. Two days afterwards, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, which it was thought that the atrocities of the French Court had made a day of evil omen for the adherents of the Pope, Gustavus made a more regular attempt to storm the enemy's position. Assault after assault was made with unavailing bravery, supported by a heavy cannonade from no less than eighty guns; but all the efforts of the Swedes could make no impression, and, when night came, the King led his troops back to Nuremburg, lessened by severe losses, and leaving General Torstensohn a prisoner. He had lost 2000 men, and Wallestein about 400. But the success of the imperial general proved in reality injurious to his cause by preventing peace. Such men as Wallestein and Gustavus were too great not to feel mutual respect for each other, and, accordingly, many civilities had passed between them. The Duke of Friedland had ransomed one or two Swedish officers and restored them to the King, with a

message that nothing could give him greater pleasure than the being instrumental in bringing about a peace between him and the Emperor. The King on his part had released General Spar, and had sent with him formal proposals of peace, which Wallestein at once forwarded to Vienna. They were under consideration when the news of this repulse of the Swedish attack reached the Austrian Ministers; who were so elated by the success, trifling as it was, that they proposed conditions which it was impossible for any one with arms in his hands to accept.

Gustavus had remained in Nuremburg nearly three months; of citizens and soldiers nearly 30,000 had perished from the casualties of war, from sickness, and from want, when, on the 8th of September, he broke up his camp, and, leaving Kniphausen with a garrison of 5000 men to defend the city, he passed slowly in front of the entrenchments of the imperial army, and, marching westward, proceeded to Neustadt on the Aisch; where he made a short halt to refresh his troops; and then, having detached Duke Bernard to Wurzburg to cover the line of the Maine, he returned with his main army into Bavaria.

A great military critic * blames, apparently with some reason, the long stay which had been made in

* Colonel Mitchell; Life of Wallestein, c. vii., a book to which I am under great obligations for this sketch.

the camp at Nuremburg. It certainly does not seem easy to be justified on either military or political grounds; but, when he proceeds to argue that it was another error in Gustavus to have summoned Oxenstiern's reinforcements to join him, the two ideas seem hardly consistent with each other; for, without Oxenstiern's troops, Gustavus had not 20,000 men; and with so scanty a force how could he leave his camp almost under the eyes of such a general as Wallestein with three times his numbers? While, if Oxenstiern, without uniting his forces with those of his master, had marched into Austria and Bavaria, it seems that Wallestein's whole army would have been interposed between these two divisions of the Swedes, and would have been able to attack either with almost irresistible advantage. The only error that the King appears fairly chargeable with is, that of still remaining in his camp three weeks after Oxenstiern's arrival had enabled him to take the field with superior numbers.

Having reached Bavaria, the King proceeded along the Danube, and laid siege to Ingoldstadt; but was forced by political considerations to abandon the idea of prosecuting the war in that direction. The Ministers of Spain and Austria had been sedulous in their endeavours to detach from his alliance the Elector of Saxony: who was jealous of seeing a foreign sovereign take such a lead in the affairs of Germany; and was only kept

true to his engagements by the constant protection which Gustavus had afforded him. But Wallestein had quitted his camp at Furt, five days after Gustavus had left Nuremberg. At Bamberg he reviewed his troops, which, after the Duke of Bavaria had quitted him, to protect his own dominions, were reduced to little more than 20,000 men (so terribly had the same privations, which he inflicted on the Swedes thinned his own numbers also); and then, summoning Pappenheim and Altringer to rejoin him, he marched northwards, taking Bayreuth and Coburg on his way towards Upper Saxony, which he designed to make the scene of his winter quarters. Leipsic surrendered at his approach; and it was plain that, if his progress was not checked, he would overrun the whole province. It was, equally plain that if he did, he would effectually sever the bonds which bound the Elector to Gustavus; who, influenced by this weighty consideration, yielded to the entreaties of the Elector, raised the siege of Ingoldstadt, and pursued Wallestein with the utmost rapidity. At Nuremburg he was joined by a strong body of Swiss soldiers; and at Schleusingen, on the borders of the Thuringian forest, he was further reinforced by Duke Bernard, with the troops with which he had been detached to act against Pappenheim. At Erfurt he had a brief interview with his Queen, of whom he took a last farewell, on the 29th of

October; and proceeded into Saxony by forced marches, in the hope of recovering Naumburg, which had been lately taken by the Imperialists, who however had left but a small garrison there. He gained his object on the 1st of November, anticipating the reinforcements which Wallestein sent the moment that he heard of his approach. Nothing could exceed the joy with which the Saxons welcomed their deliverer as he passed through their country. They knelt before him on his march, crowding amid his soldiers, if haply they might touch the hem of his garment, or the sheath of his sword. It was in vain that he reproved them and warned them that they might bring the wrath of God upon him, by making him the object of such almost profane idolatry. The feeling was universal; men and women, old and young; those who had tasted of the horrors of war, from which he was come to deliver them; those whose hopes were fixed on its glories, to which none could so well lead them; all were alike incapable of being restrained from offering their affectionate homage to their darling hero.

Wallestein turned back from Leipsic to check his progress, with the view of bringing him to action before he could form a junction with the Saxons; but, on reconnoitering the Swedish position at Naumburg, he found, though only two days had elapsed since the arrival of Gustavus, that in

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that short time the King had fortified it with works almost as strong as, though smaller in extent than, those at Nuremburg. For once the Duke of Friedland consulted his subordinate generals; and they gave him fatal advice. It was their unanimous opinion that the King had entrenched himself as they saw, with the intention of passing the winter in his camp; that therefore Pappenheim might safely be detached to Cologne, which was threatened by the Dutch; and that the rest of the army might retire into winter quarters.

Wallestein had with him nearly 40,000 men when he dispersed his troops in cantonments, in accordance with this plan; but Pappenheim, besides the force destined for the Rhine, was furnished with twelve regiments to reduce a Swedish garrison in Halle; and Wallestein with about 12,000 men marched to Lutzen to cover his expedition.

On the 5th of November, Gustavus with his whole army, consisting of about 20,000 men, quitted Naumburg with the view of joining the Saxons at Dresden. He had scarcely quitted the camp when he intercepted a letter from Count Colloredo, from which he learnt the absence of Pappenheim, and the small number of the army which was with Wallestein. In a moment he changed his course, and turned towards Lutzen to surprise and crush his enemy before he could assemble his forces.

Some outlying cavalry, driven in by the approach

of the Swedes, brought the Duke the first tidings of his danger. Surprised but not dismayed, he took instant measures for his defence. Signal guns were fired to bring up the detachments from the cantonments into which they had been dispersed. An express was sent to Pappenheim, who was as yet hardly more than five miles off, commanding him to return to the assistance of his chief, with every man and every gun. The roads by which the Swedes were advancing were bad, and they had to cross a small river which Isolan defended with a handful of cuirassiers, so that it was evening before Gustavus arrived in front of the enemy. Wallestein had obtained a precious respite, and he did not throw away a moment of the time thus gained. The plain of Lutzen was a perfect level, and the small town itself covered his right, and the left of the Swedish army. A road ran between the two armies, and this road was separated from the fields by deep ditches on either side. Wallestein employed the day in deepening the ditches, and with the soil thrown up he formed as it were parapets on the banks, to serve as a shelter for his musqueteers, who could fire over them upon the advancing enemy. He arranged his men in large square battalions of heavy infantry; with smaller bodies of light troops between them. Fresh detachments kept pouring in all night, and before dawn, Pappenheim returned with his cavalry. As they arrived they were at

once stationed in the places marked out for them, till at last the whole army amounted probably to 25,000 men. The Duke had not much artillery, but there was a small battery in front of his centre; and a larger one of seventeen guns in front of some windmills on the right of the subordinate generals. Holk commanded the right; Offa the centre; and Göltz the left.

The Swedes were arranged as at Leipsic. The King himself commanding the right wing; Duke Bernard the left; and Kniphausen the second line. In his entire numbers Gustavus was probably inferior to Wallestein; but his cavalry and artillery were the more numerous.

The day of battle was the 6th of November. It was long, very long, since a day had dawned in Europe of which the issue was to be so momentous. Since Cæsar had won the Empire of the world on the field of Pharsalia, no two such generals had ever confronted one another as those who were now arming for the contest. Both were heroes of the truest mould: magnanimous, brave, skilful, hitherto invincible. It was now to be seen whose star was to set; which was to be for the future the foremost man of the world. Gustavus headed his men in a plain buff coat, mounted on a white charger of conspicuous beauty. Wallestein, who was suffering severely from gout, was carried through the ranks in a sedan chair; and did not mount his horse till the battle began,

when the pain of the body yielded to the energy of the soul, and none who beheld his exertions could have guessed how severe were his sufferings.

At daybreak the two armies were hidden from one another by an impenetrable fog; and it was almost noon when the sun began to dissipate the mist. As soon as he could clearly see the ranks of the enemy, Gustavus exclaimed with a loud voice, "Aid us, Lord Jesus; for thy holy name are we about to fight!" and in person led the vanguard against the enemy. The Imperialists set fire to Lutzen to prevent their right flank from being turned; however, the Swedes were not thinking of manœuvring, but pressed straight forward to the charge. The tale of hard-fought battles has been often told; and presents but little variety. The fiery charge of the Swedes broke Wallestein's phalanxes. He flew to the spot, and his personal exertions restored the day in the part where his battalions first wavered. The Imperialists' left had been broken by the King at the head of his cuirassiers; when Gustavus heard that on the other wing Duke Bernard was less successful. While Wallestein was encouraging his beaten troops in the centre, the King was hastening to perform a similar office for his imperilled left wing. He rallied it; it returned to the charge and beat back the Imperialists. Gustavus uncovered his head to breathe a silent prayer of thanksgiving to the Power in whose hand

is the victory, when one of the enemy's troopers, who had remarked how his ranks made way for him, conjectured that he must be a man of consequence, and fired at him with fatal aim, wounding him in the arm; a second shot pierced his back. He fell from his horse; his attendants fled before a fresh charge of the Imperialists, who, without recognising their victim, dispatched him with several wounds. His horse galloping along the line with empty saddle gave intimation to his own army of their loss. Bernard took the command, and led on the troops for their last charge. They had been terrible before; now that they were fighting to rescue their monarch's body, and to avenge his fall, they were irresistible. In vain did Pappenheim collect the freshest of his men and penetrate into the middle of the Swedes, where he "foremost fighting fell," a glorious death, but not too glorious for such a fearless spirit. In vain did Wallestein with equal heroism throw himself wherever the fire was hottest or the onset fiercest. He seemed to bear a charmed life; a cannon-shot tore his spur from his heel, ball after ball lodged in his thickly embroidered coat, he remained unwounded. Piccolomini and other officers, stimulated by the example of these leaders, displayed similar courage. Twice they drove back the Swedes; but, when Bernard brought up the reserves and charged for the third time, the strength and courage of the Imperialists gave way

together, and the rout was complete. Wallestein withdrew to Leipsic, leaving the field of battle, his baggage, and his artillery to the conquerors. When the next morning he tried to collect his forces with the hope of recovering his artillery, he could barely count two thousand men around his standards; while the Swedish army, though with smaller loss, was almost equally disorganised.

The last words of the dying monarch had been, "My poor queen! Alas, my poor queen!" To that beloved and faithful wife, who had more than once with manly daring traversed countries full of enemies to bring him the aid of reinforcements, and the comfort of her own presence, was his body borne, pierced with nine wounds. She had advanced to Weissenfels, where it was carefully embalmed; and from thence she bore it to Stockholm, where all that was mortal of her hero lies in the mausoleum of the Swedish kings, in the Riddarholm church. His daughter and successor did but little honour, and paid but little respect to his memory; but in the present generation the worthiest of his successors, though a prince of foreign birth, has raised in a shady walk, close to the cathedral at Upsal, an obelisk dedicated to his memory, with the following inscription:—

TO GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
IN THE NAME OF THE SWEDISH PEOPLE,
CHARLES JOHN XIV.

PARALLEL.

In the character and circumstances of the two heroes of whose lives I have thus endeavoured to give a sketch, there are many points of striking resemblance. Both were by nature and inclination lovers of peace; yet both were forced by the chain of events into continual war, and evinced military talent of the highest order. As soldiers, the career of each was an almost uninterrupted course of victory; and in each case it was mainly owing to the reforms which they themselves had introduced into military practice. Each in his day was the inventor of a new system, and so wide was their glance, so sound were their principles on which those systems were founded, that they prevail to a great extent even to the present day. The tactics of modern armies are practicable, only because Gustavus taught succeeding generals to break up the massive, immoveable phalanx of former wars, into smaller and consequently more active and more manageable battalions. And, though it is now more than 2000 years since Epaminondas first directed the whole weight of his column upon one part of the Lacedæmonian line at

Leuctra, it is still in high favour as a most effective mode of attack; and we need not go further back than the last war to find examples of the terrible impetuosity of the French, rendering it against many of their enemies an almost assured means of victory.

They were both military reformers in still more important matters. In the most merciful hands there are horrors enough in war; but in ancient Greece it was merciless. In those days the capture of a town commonly led to the slaughter of the men, the slavery of the women and children. These barbarities Epaminondas applied himself to mitigate, and was almost the first of his countrymen to release or ransom those whom the fortune of war had placed at his disposal. In what a savage spirit hostilities were waged in the age subsequent to the Reformation, when religious hatred—the most cruel of all feelings—had added its stimulus to the natural ferocity of excited victory, it is needless to tell; not only do Rome, and the Netherlands, and Magdeburg, bear terrible testimony to the unsparing vengeance wreaked by even brave generals upon conquered enemies; but, even when unprovoked by resistance, the soldier appeared to conceive that his occupation exempted him from the ordinary restraints of law and of humanity. The country in which he was encamped as a friend, he treated like an enemy; and the miserable inhabitants could call

nothing their own, but the scanty leavings of his rapine and licentiousness.

It was by Gustavus that this lawless spirit was first checked. Wallestein, to his great honour, was prompt to imitate him; but it was Gustavus who set the example of maintaining strict discipline in his army, and who taught rigorous lessons of moderation and humanity to those mercenary bands who had flattered themselves that the need which their commander had of their services, must make him approve, or at least connive at these excesses, the licence for which was their greatest temptation to service.

Again, both these leaders had the art of inspiring their troops with that personal attachment to themselves which is the surest parent of great exploits; and finally, they both died in the hour of victory which would have been decisive of the whole war, had they survived to reap its fruits, and which was, comparatively speaking, barren in its results and crippled in consequence of their fall.

Nor were the talents of either of them confined to war. Both were eloquent speakers. In two congresses the Theban by himself upheld the interests of his country successfully against the united eloquence and influence of the Spartan king, and the Athenian orator; while the frank pleading of the Swede was found equally efficacious to persuade his Senate to adopt his views, to appease the

hostility of Christian, and, harder task than either, to curb the licentious passions and avarice of mercenary soldiers.

Both were statesmen of more than usual farsightedness. The consolidation of the power of Arcadia, the restoration of Messene were triumphs of peace, and surer means than any victories to tame the pride and bridle the power of Sparta; while the alliance cemented with France and proposed with England, and the attention which he bestowed on his navy, show an equally just appreciation by Gustavus of the most effectual barriers to be opposed to the overgrown ambition of the House of Austria.

Lastly, the mainspring of action in them both were the purest views of patriotism, in the ancient hero; of patriotism and religion combined, in the modern. A very eminent scholar of the present day has curiously enough found fault with Epaminondas, because he "devoted his great qualities to the one petty object of the aggrandisement of Thebes." * It may not be an insufficient reply that He was a Theban. In all ages a pure disinterested love of one's country has been reckoned one of the greatest virtues; and, before Christ had inspired his disciples with wider views, and taught them with an enlarged humanity to regard the welfare of

* The Rev. E. Elder, Head Master of the Charterhouse School, in the article "Epaminondas" in Smith's Biographical Dictionary.

all mankind, it is difficult to see what other virtue could be displayed by any statesman of any country who sought to acquire an honourable fame; while few men of any age or nation have ever exhibited such an absence of all selfish views, such a postponement of all personal claims as Epaminondas, when, after his renown as the victor of Leuctra had filled the then known world, he cheerfully submitted to an unmerited supersession, and served as a common soldier in the ranks which he alone had led, and alone could lead, to victory.

Nor was less devotion to his country shown on all occasions by Gustavus. True it is that, as he was its King, the increase of its power was more inseparably connected with his own aggrandisement than was the case with respect to Epaminondas; but, as the ill-success of his earlier campaigns did not depress him, so neither did the triumphs of his later efforts excite him to pride, or to any self-complacent arrogance of demeanour on the one hand, or to any attempts to trench on the liberties of his subjects on the other. Self-indulgence was the very last thing for which he was anxious. We have seen that in his very last campaign, he bade his plundering troops learn from his example, since he had gained not the very smallest accession of wealth or personal splendour from any of his victories.

Schiller indeed, who delights to seek for flaws in

the purest characters, charges him with a personal ambition which, had he survived Lutzen, would, he thinks, have developed itself so as to prove fatal to the liberties of Germany. But if he was, as he argues, "educated in the maxims of arbitrary power," the frankness with which he at all times consulted his Senate, and requested its sanction and assistance, shows that his own inclinations and judgment led him to a better and safer system of policy. His alliance with France was, and was felt by the Roman Catholic Princes generally to be, a sufficient guarantee that, though sincerely attached to his own religion, he did not seek to oppress theirs: while the depth of his attachment to the principles of the Reformation, on which no one has ventured to throw a doubt, ought to be looked upon as an utter disproof of the assertion that "his aim was the imperial crown," with which such principles were incompatible. It is neither a candid nor a just spirit which, when the actions of great men may be accounted for on the purest principles, seeks to draw them down to the level of common humanity, by suggesting the possibility of less worthy motives. Mankind may learn as much wisdom and better feelings from putting the best interpretation on their conduct, humbly reverencing and boldly endeavouring to imitate their glorious examples.

In conclusion, the remark with which an early

historian summed up his account of Epaminondas may be equally applied to Gustavus. It is equally true of both, that till they arose in their respective countries, neither Thebes nor Sweden had been either illustrious or powerful. During the brief period of their sway, those states were the most important powers of Europe; after their deaths they again sank to their previous insignificance. No words can supply so noble a panegyric as these facts.

In closing this comparison, it seems unnecessary to assign a superiority to either. A merciful God has so amply endowed mankind with all the faculties calculated to make their race happy and their nations great, that among the mighty dead enshrined for ever in the admiring gratitude of all posterity, some one or two may perhaps be found whose profound wisdom, or whose marvellous achievements have surpassed those of the Theban Chief, or of the Swedish King; but from the earliest records of history to the present time, none have gone down to the grave whose virtues have been marred by fewer imperfections of character, or whose glories have been sullied by fewer errors of conduct.

PHILIP, KING OF MACEDON,

AND

FREDERIC THE GREAT, KING OF PRUSSIA.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP,

KING OF MACEDON.

MACEDONIA, though occasionally mentioned in earlier times, did not become considerable, or intimately connected with Grecian politics till towards the close of the Peloponnesian war; when Archelaus, an usurper, though of royal blood, seized the throne, and by the wisdom and energy of his government, by his internal reforms, and by the establishment of a military force, laid the foundation of the future greatness of his kingdom. His career of usefulness was cut short by assassination, about the beginning of the fourth century B.C.; and so pernicious had been the example which he had set of obtaining the throne by violent means, that three more kings appear in the records of the nation in the next six years, of whom two were murdered: the last, Pausanias, fell by the hands of Amyntas, who was also descended from the royal family, being the great grandson of Alexander, the

King of Macedon, in the time of Xerxes, and who thus raised himself to the supreme power in the year 394 B.C.

Though previously to the time of Archelaus, the Macedonians were but a half-civilised nation, speaking a barbarous dialect, in which there was but a small mixture of Greek, and were not considered to belong to the Greek family,—the kings of the nation were of the purest Hellenic blood, and traced their descent from Hercules. Amyntas, after a troubled reign of twenty-four years, died in 370, leaving three sons—Alexander, who succeeded him, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander was murdered in the second year of his reign, and in the troubles which ensued, Philip, then about fourteen or fifteen years of age, was placed at Thebes either as a hostage or for security. Here his education was completed in a manner for which his native country would have afforded no opportunities. We have no particular account of his studies or of his instructors, but it must have been here that he acquired that familiarity with the purest Greek literature which, in later days, enabled him to write and to speak in such a manner as to extort the praise of the most accomplished Athenians. Here he made some acquaintance with Plato, who conceived so favourable an opinion of his abilities and character, that his brother Perdiccas, when he recovered the throne, bestowed a principality on

him at the recommendation of the philosopher; and here he made the still more valuable acquaintance of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, and drew from their conversation and example lessons of the highest political and military wisdom.

After a long and severe struggle, Perdiccas recovered the throne of his father and his brother, about six years after his father's death; but in the fifth year of his reign he died either by assassination, or of a wound received in a defeat he sustained from the Illyrians, leaving an infant son named Amyntas. His death was the signal for great civil dissensions. The principles which had regulated the succession to the Macedonian throne were so loosely established, that the tender age of the lawful successor gave encouragement to numerous pretenders. Philip at once seized the reins of sovereignty, as regent and guardian of his nephew; but the throne was claimed at the same time by Argæus, who had previously seized and held it for a short space before the accession of Amyntas; and also by Pausanias, one of the royal family, who had sought it before on the death of Alexander. Moreover, besides these two pretenders, Amyntas had left three illegitimate sons, Archelaus, Aridæus, and Menelaus, who might possibly prove dangerous competitors. Of these his half-brothers Philip put the first to death, the others escaped, and subsequently found a temporary safety at Olynthus;

Pausanias was too weak to prosecute his claims by force; but Argæus had enlisted the support of the Athenians, with whose assistance he raised an army and laid siege to Ægæ, the ancient capital of the kingdom, whither he was promptly pursued and utterly defeated by Philip.

But, though intestine discord was thus terminated, the dangers which threatened the nation from foreign enemies were too great to be successfully confronted by the precarious authority of an infant sovereign; and Philip, who had already won the confidence of the Senate by the ability which he had displayed, and the hearts of the army by his military frankness, and by the eloquence of the harangues which he had taken frequent opportunity to address to them, was compelled, not perhaps unwillingly, to assume the crown as the actual sovereign of the nation.

He was at this time about twenty-three years of age. His mother was Eurydice, an Illyrian Princess; a turbulent and licentious woman, whose memory is stained with the suspicion of having been accessory to the murders of her husband and of her eldest son; but Philip's connection with her countrymen did not secure him from their hostility. Their war with Perdiccas has already been mentioned, and they were now said to be preparing for a fresh invasion of Macedonia, which would be facilitated by the possession which they still re-

tained of some of the towns within the Macedonian frontier. On the north Philip was threatened by the Pæonians; while the Athenians had given proof of their unfriendly disposition by the countenance they had shown, and the succours they had sent to Argæus. Few princes have ever ascended a throne surrounded by greater difficulties, but few have been endowed with greater natural advantages to confront and master them. Calculated alike to win the attachment of a rude people, and to secure the respect and admiration of more accomplished minds, he was gifted not only with abundant strength of body and of constitution, undaunted courage, and a natural dignity of demeanour, but with a ready eloquence, great fertility of resource, constant presence of mind, and an accurate judgment of character, which enabled him often to convert enemies into friends. He had likewise diplomatic talents of the highest order, and an apparently frank affability, under which he often concealed the deepest designs. And these qualities were necessary not only for his success abroad, but for the maintenance of his power at home. For the possession of the throne had invested him with no absolute authority, and the kings were little more than the first nobles of Macedonia, unless the weight of their own personal character chanced to add lustre and strength to their titular sovereignty.

Surrounded as he was with enemies he did not for a moment hesitate in his conduct. The Athenians had shown their hostility to him, but his own inclinations led him to regard them with favour, and to desire their friendship: with this view, he released the Athenian prisoners who fell into his hands on the defeat of Argæus, and sent them back enriched with presents, and accompanied by an envoy bearing a letter of amicable expostulation to the people at large. His kindness to the restored prisoners, and the hopes which his letter inspired, produced the desired effect on the Athenian people, who gladly concluded a peace with him. He next turned his arms against the Pæonians, who had lately been weakened by the loss of their warlike king Agis; invaded their territory, and reduced them to submission; and then proceeded to attack his last and most formidable enemies, the Illyrians. Their king, Bardylis, though upwards of ninety years old, was not yet sufficiently subdued by age to yield without a struggle to the terms which his youthful foe sought to impose upon him. They met in battle with equal forces, but the tactics of Epaminondas, now put in practice by Philip, decided the day; and the Illyrians, who were routed with the loss of two thirds of their army, were glad to purchase peace by the surrender of all their conquests in Macedonia, and the acceptance of whatever other terms the conqueror thought fit to impose.

Having thus subdued foreign enemies, Philip applied himself to consolidate and secure his power at home. The solid array of the phalanx, which he copied from the Thebans, had been the chief instrument of his victory over the Illyrians; he now improved its organisation and established it as a standing army; the numbers of which he gradually increased till, before the end of his reign, the force which he kept constantly on foot amounted to no less than 20,000 men. The military discipline which he established was of the very strictest kind; and it was maintained with an inflexible severity which allowed no relaxation to officers of even the highest rank. At the same time to bind the great nobles more surely to the throne, he began to accustom them to send their sons to be educated at his court; where, like the pages and esquires in the feudal ages, they learnt the duties of obedience as well as a degree of refinement, which in their separate homes would have scarcely been attainable, and from which they passed into the Royal Guard, a body whose organisation and regulations were the objects of his peculiar care; and to whom he gave the honourable title of comrades,* encouraging them with the prospect of rising to the highest posts of honour in the kingdom, which were reserved almost entirely for this favoured troop.

* Πεζέταιροι, lit. *foot companions.*

A few years later, after the death of Onomarchus, he added the admirable Thessalian Cavalry to his army; and a body of light troops, bowmen and slingers, such as would not have been considered worth reckoning in the numbers of an army in the preceding age, but whose value and efficacy in deciding the fate of a battle, Iphicrates had gradually taught the Greeks to recognise. He also raised a naval force, not at first, nor indeed at any time during his reign, able to cope with that of the Athenians, who were still masters of the sea, but sufficient to afford great protection to his coasts and to his rising trade, and at times to retaliate and even more than retaliate on his jealous neighbours.

Feeling himself now securely established at home, he began to take measures to extend his power abroad. Amphipolis, at the mouth of the river Strymon in Thrace, had originally been a colony of the Athenians, founded a short time before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. It had been lost to them, however, and, at the accession of Philip, was in the hands of the Macedonians. He, in order to conciliate the good will of Athens, and to pave the way for the peace with that city, which has been already mentioned, withdrew the garrison which held it in subjection, even if he did not in his letter to the Athenian people formally repudiate all claim to any power or rights over the town. The Athenians, however, had taken no steps to

reassert their dominion over it; and for a twelvemonth and upwards, it had been left in a state of perfect freedom and independence, This freedom, however, it was a place of too much importance to be permitted to retain, being valuable to both Macedonians and Athenians, on account of the gold mines in the district, and of its proximity to the great forests of the Strymon, which afforded such inexhaustible supplies of timber for shipbuilding; and to the former still more especially, as, on the one hand, affording them a means of resisting or counteracting the maritime supremacy of the Athenians; and, on the other hand, as opening to them a passage into Thrace. What offence the citizens had given to Philip in the short interval that had elapsed since he had renounced all control over them, or on what pretences he picked a quarrel with them, we know not; but about the end of the year 358, he declared war against the city, summoned it to surrender, and on its refusal, commenced a vigorous siege of it. Both parties communicated the beginning of the war to the Athenians. The Amphipolitans implored aid; Philip gave them a courteous notice that he was besieging the town, which, as it of right belonged to them, he intended to deliver over to them as soon as he had taken it. The Athenians had often been dissatisfied with the Amphipolitans, sometimes as refractory and ungrateful colonists, sometimes as the

involuntary cause of disaster to them. They were also at the present moment especially inclined to look with favour upon Philip; so they declined to interfere, and dismissed the envoys from the besieged city with a refusal of all succour. It soon fell—not without treachery on the part of some of the inhabitants; from thence he proceeded against Pydna, a Macedonia seaport, which in the reign of Archelaus had revolted to Athens. It is said that one of the principal reasons which had determined the Athenians to reject the prayer of the Amphipolitans for aid, was that they had come, or believed that they had come, to an understanding with Philip, that when he had taken Amphipolis he should deliver it to them, receiving back Pydna in exchange; but, the moment he appeared before Pydna, that town opened its gates to him, and then, having won the town by his own efforts, without any assistance from the Athenians, he looked upon himself as under no obligation to restore them Amphipolis in exchange for it.

The power of Olynthus, and the confederacy of which it was the head, had been steadily increasing for the last five-and-twenty years, and its chiefs began to feel and to show suspicions of the objects of Philip. Before the fall of Amphipolis they had sent envoys to the Athenians to urge them to unite with themselves for the defence of that important town; but, though their proposal had been rejected,

and though Philip had propitiated them for a time by giving up to them Anthemus, a town in the neighbourhood, on which they had some claim, in spite of its having belonged to the Macedonians for many years, he was still apprehensive that they might renew their overtures to Athens with more success, and form an alliance which would be the greatest possible obstacle to his designs. He sought, therefore, to obtain a firmer hold upon their affections, by conferring a greater benefit on them. Potidæa was the most important city in the district, and had been originally dependent on Olynthus; but, a few years before, it had been taken by Timotheus, the son of Conon, and since that event it had been held by an Athenian garrison. Philip now offered the Olynthians his assistance in recovering it, which was an object which he knew they had greatly at heart; and his and their united forces reduced it without difficulty. The Athenian settlers were dispossessed and expelled; but, being still unwilling to break with Athens, he treated the garrison with great kindness, and sent it back in safety, in hopes more effectually to prevent any union between Athens and Olynthus, and to force a comparison between the injuries inflicted by the latter, and the benefits conferred by himself, which would be all to his advantage, and would bear its fruit when the time should come for the further prosecution of his views.

The fall of Potidæa was attended by other omens of future success. In the preceding year he had married Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, King of Epirus, in whose company he had previously been initiated into the religious mysteries of Samothrace; and now, while flushed with his success at Potidæa, he received three messengers of joyful tidings in one day: the first, announcing to him that he had won the prize in the chariot-race at Olympia; the second, that his general, Parmenio, had defeated the Illyrians; the third, that he had a son born, though even he himself, in his most ambitious moments, could not foresee the glory which, as long as mankind is capable of appreciating the most extensive genius, set off to the greatest advantage by the highest practical ability and energy in action, will surround the name of Alexander the Great.

He now proceeded to make himself master of the gold mines in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis, the wealth to be derived from which had been originally the chief inducement to the Athenians to found that colony. The Thasians had lately become the principal possessors and workers of them; nor did he now disturb their occupation of the land, though he brought a body of Macedonian settlers to share it with them, and enlarged the Thasian village into a city, which he called Philippi, destined to become celebrated hereafter as the witness of the

last battle fought in defence of Roman liberty. The mines he seized and appropriated to the state of Macedonia, and introduced such improvements into the manner of working them, that they soon produced him a yearly revenue of a thousand talents. Philippi was alone important to him, not only on account of the protection it afforded to the mines, but as a military station commanding the rich valley of the Mestus, and opening a way to the northern provinces between Macedon and the Hellespont; for that was the quarter to which his views of conquest pointed. In his transactions with the commonwealths of Greece, his aim was not dominion but political ascendancy; and he desired to be the leader of the Greeks rather than their master. Whether he as yet cherished in his secret thoughts the views of the entire subjugation of Persia, which he was preparing to carry out at his death, we cannot determine; but doubtless he already contemplated the deliverance of the cities of Greek origin on the eastern coasts of the Ægean from a barbarian yoke; and this intention among others led him to devote much of his care to the foundation of a navy, which was of course indispensable for projects of transmarine conquest, even on a small scale. But the time for avowing such ideas had not yet arrived; and for the next year or two he employed himself in that secret preparation for the further development of his plans, which consisted

in promoting the internal improvement of his kingdom, both in the civil and military affairs; and in giving heedful attention to the affairs of Greece, in which he saw that he should soon be able to find opportunity and excuse to interfere.

While he was occupied in the establishment of his power in the mine district, Athens was forced to make war upon her own allies. The battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, though she had shared in the defeat sustained by the allies at the latter place, had nevertheless rather improved her position with respect to the rest of Greece, as the loss of her great chief disabled Thebes from prosecuting the advantages which she had gained, and Sparta had been far more depressed than herself by his triumphs. But this comparatively prosperous condition was but of brief duration, and the licentiousness of her commanders, unable to restrain the troops for whom they could not provide their regular pay, began to alienate her confederates from her. They complained in vain. Her poverty, or rather the systematic diversion of the funds, which should have been devoted to her armies to less worthy objects, compelled her to connive at practices which were little short of piracy; and at last, Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium broke out into open revolt, carrying on open war against her, which lasted two years, and which was concluded by a peace which left her very much shorn of her former power.

Philip no doubt saw these divisions with no small satisfaction; but the next war which arose between the Grecian states, generally called the Sacred War, was more important to him, as, by the course which it took, it at last furnished him with an unimpeachable pretence for coming forward with authority, and for bringing the arms of Macedon to decide the contest.

The Thebans had impeached the Phocians before the Amphictyonic council for some violation of the sacred territory belonging to the temple at Delphi; and had procured their condemnation to the enormous fine of 1000 talents. The Phocians, unable to satisfy the demand, applied to the Athenians for military aid against the Thebans, who, with the Thessalians, were preparing to march into their country and levy the fine by force. Aided by Athens they assumed the offensive, and occupied Delphi; becoming, by that act, masters of all the treasures contained in the temple of Apollo. After several battles fought with varying fortune, Philomelus the Phocian leader was killed, but was succeeded in his authority by his brother Onomarchus, who seized upon the treasures of the temple, which Philomelus had forborne to touch, and by these means collected a large force, with which he overran Locris and Doris, and made himself master of Orchomenos. Philip, who was biding his time, saw that the moment was at hand when he should be able to interfere with effect;

and, that no obstacle to his entering Thessaly might remain, laid siege to Methone, on the Thessalian frontier. The resistance made by the citizens, who were conscious of having offended him by affording shelter to his enemies, was long and desperate; for nearly a year did they hold out, in spite of the utmost efforts of the besiegers, among whom the King in person exerted and exposed himself so much, that he lost an eye by an arrow,—shot, according to some later annalists, by an archer whose skill he had slighted, and who took this opportunity to convince him of his value. At last the town fell; Philip imitating the moderation of which Epaminondas had set the Greeks an example, spared the lives of the citizens, with the exception of the fatal archer, whose name was Aster. The city itself he gave up to be pillaged by his soldiers, after which he razed it to the ground, and divided the district belonging to it among a Macedonian colony. This victory had scarcely opened to him the road to Thessaly, when even his own hopes were exceeded by an invitation from the Aleuadæ, the chiefs of Larissa and the north of Thessaly, to aid them against Lycophron, one of the sons of Jason, the former tyrant of Pheræ, who, since the murder of Alexander, Jason's successor, had established himself in that city with sovereign power. Philip gladly responded to the call. Onomarchus sent his brother Phayllus with 7000 men to the

assistance of Lycophron, but he was defeated and driven out of Thessaly; and the conqueror, proceeding towards the south, took Pagasæ, the principal seaport of the nation, from which, the first vessel that ever bore the Greek mariner across the waters, the Argo, had sailed in quest of the fabled riches of Colchis. His successes were so threatening, that Onomarchus himself came to the support of the tyrant, and, though his forces were but little superior in numbers, gave the King of Macedon so severe a defeat that he was compelled to evacuate Thessaly and retire to his own kingdom; displaying at the same time his indomitable resolution, by the saying that "he was not fleeing, but only falling back like a battering-ram to give a more violent shock another time." And he soon returned to the charge with an army restored in spirits and greatly increased in numbers. At the head of 23,000 men, wearing crowns of laurel as the champions of the Divine Lover of Daphne, he poured again into Thessaly. Near the Malian gulf he routed Onomarchus with the loss of half his army; Onomarchus himself was killed, and Philip nailed his dead body to a cross, as one who had fallen in sacrilegious resistance to the soldiers of the god. Flushed with his victory, he proceeded southward, intending to advance into Phocis. The Phocians sent a pressing request to Athens for aid, and, though before the fall of Onomarchus, the fear of incurring the imputation of sacrilege, had pre-

vented the Athenians from openly assisting him, and had restrained them from making any more useful demonstrations in his favour than was afforded by sending Chares with a squadron to cruise in the Pagasæan Gulf; yet now the urgency of the danger impelled them to throw aside both their religious scruples and their usual dilatoriness; and they sent a strong force to guard Thermopylæ, which took up a position so formidable, that Philip was unable to attack them. He withdrew to his own country, first of all strengthening his friends in Thessaly, and increasing his own popularity by establishing a Republican Government at Pheræ. And, as the possession of Pagasæ, which he retained, afforded him facilities for naval enterprises against the Athenians, he availed himself of it for retaliating on them the disappointment which he had sustained at Thermopylæ; fitting out a small fleet, which invaded many of the islands which they looked upon as peculiarly their own, he captured many of their merchant vessels almost in sight of Attica, and even entered the bay of Marathon, and carried off the sacred galley Paralus in triumph.

He now began to prepare for the further extension of his power in the north. He had already reduced Apollonia, one of the most powerful towns of the district around Olynthus, lying towards the Thracian frontier; and, as Cersobleptes, the son and successor of Cotys king of Thrace, had entered into a

close alliance with Athens, he willingly took Amadocus, a rival of the Thracian monarch, under his protection, penetrated the country almost as far as the Chersonese, laid siege to a fortress called Heræum on the Propontis or Sea of Marmara, and was preparing to prosecute further operations with vigour, when his progress was arrested by an illness so severe that it was reported at Athens that he was dead. He returned to his own dominions, having defeated or terrified the Thracian monarch so completely (for we are wholly without any minute or accurate information with respect to this campaign), that that sovereign gave up his son to him as a hostage.

It was at this juncture that Demosthenes, then a young man, just beginning to take a part in public business, first began to conceive apprehensions of his designs, and endeavoured to inspire the Athenians with his own prophetic spirit; but, though his first warnings were urged with an eloquence to which maturity and subsequent practice could add but little vigour, his predictions of general danger produced no effect on his now degenerate countrymen. He soon had occasion to address to them more particular advice in emergencies that could neither be misunderstood nor trifled with.

Olynthus, from having been the most powerful city in the north of Greece and the head of an important confederacy, had now, by its own impolicy

and the intrigues of Philip, become gradually bereft of all its allies and at war with Athens. It had also afforded Philip a pretext for a quarrel by having sheltered two of the illegitimate sons of Amyntas when he put their brother to death. The city was chiefly under the guidance of two demagogues, Lasthenes and Euthycrates, who had been some time before brought over to Philip's interests; and who, in the preceding year, had had influence enough to cause the rejection of proposals made by Athens for peace and a mutual defensive alliance against Macedon. They now persuaded the citizens to view with supineness his destruction of Stageira, the birth-place of Aristotle, and of numerous other cities of the Chalcidic district, till at last it could no longer be concealed from the most stupid or most cowardly, that their own destruction was the real end and object of all his measures, and that the only reward that they could expect for their supineness was that of being the last to be devoured. Then they repented of their rejection of the overtures of the Athenians, and of their own accord sent an embassy to them to court the alliance which they had so lately refused. Their request was supported by all the eloquence of Demosthenes; but, though in words it was granted, the Athenians were far from acting with the energy that war against such an enemy as Philip required; instead of the forces that their counsellor thought necessary, they sent a

small body of mercenaries, under Charidemus, a mere captain of hirelings and not even a native citizen of Athens, who, after fighting in the pay of one barbarian and another, had now transferred his services from Cersobleptes to them. As he was not deficient in either courage or skill, his movements met with some success against the enemy; but the licentiousness of his troops and of his own conduct, and his insolence to the Olynthian magistrates was such that they sent a second application for aid to Athens, entreating that it should be furnished by citizens and not by mercenaries.

Again Demosthenes thundered in their behalf, and the facts which even the partisans of Philip could not deny were more eloquent than the orator. A fresh fleet, 2000 heavy infantry, and 300 cavalry, all Athenians, were sent under Chares, a man not indeed to be compared to the generals of ancient times, but probably the best that could then be provided; but by this time Mecyberna, the port of Olynthus, had fallen, and the city itself was blockaded and reduced to solicit peace. There was no longer mercy in the heart, or disguise in the intentions of Philip. He replied that the only peace he could grant them was such as he had granted to the Methoneans; the only conditions to which he would consent were the expulsion of the citizens and the destruction of the city. What could war, what could defeat bring which should be more terrible?

The Olynthians were brave men and made a vigorous defence. They fought as men should fight who have their homes, the safety of their families, the altars of their gods at stake; they ventured on two pitched battles in which they were defeated, but they still drove back the besiegers from their walls with undiminished courage; till at last they were betrayed by their own leaders. A saying is attributed to Philip, that no city was impregnable, the gates of which were wide enough to admit the entrance of a mule loaded with gold; and, now, that his steel had failed, gold was the weapon which he employed with fatal effect; with such men as Lasthenes and Euthycrates, it was irresistible. They betrayed the army to him, and admitted him into the city. The conqueror took a cruel revenge for a resistance the gallantry of which deserved a better fate. The indulgence which had been granted to the Methoneans of being driven from their homes, which they saw razed to the ground before their eyes, destitute indeed, but free, was too great for the stubborn Olynthians; the city was destroyed, and the citizens were sold as slaves; the traitors, among whom it is said on high authority that Aristotle the philosopher was one, standing by and pointing out the richest of the citizens as they were exposed one by one in the market-place. The conquest of the whole district of Chalcidice was now complete: a few years before

it was a rich, and populous, and independent country; now, its thirty-two cities were utterly destroyed, and the inhabitants driven out, or compelled to till as slaves the lands which they had owned as masters; but the country itself had not lost its fertility of soil nor its advantages of situation, and, as an incorporated province of Macedonia, became one of the most valuable parts of that empire.

While these events were taking place in the north of Greece, Philip, exasperated with the Athenians for the support which they were giving to the Olynthians, resolved to find them employment nearer home, and by his intrigues stirred up a revolt against them in Eubœa; it was checked by the defeat which Phocion gave the Eubœan general Callias at Tamynæ, but Callias found a safe asylum in Macedon, and the island still continued to be a source of uneasiness to the Athenians till the peace.

Philip seemed now at the very height of power; he had inflicted the most fearful chastisement on his enemies; he seemed to have put down all idea of resistance to his designs, and he resolved to solemnise his triumph with all due magnificence. There was an ancient festival held at Dium in honour of the Muses, which Archelaus had remodelled on a more extensive scale; this Philip now celebrated with unprecedented pomp, with

banquets, and games lasting for nine days; treating the guests who flocked to it from all parts of Greece with princely munificence. He even listened favourably to entreaties addressed to him on behalf of some of the miserable captives taken at Olynthus, whose doom was not yet finally sealed; and granted to Satyrus the actor, though he was a friend of Demosthenes, and, (though the father of the maidens for whom he was pleading had been concerned in the murder of his brother Alexander,) the freedom of the daughters of Apollophanes, even adding to the marriage-portions which Satyrus provided for them.

Policy often seduced Philip into acts of inhumanity; and, when he thought it for his interest, no one could act with more ruthless cruelty; but such were not the dictates of his natural disposition, or of the cultivated taste which he often displayed. He now availed himself of the respite afforded him by the termination of the Olynthian war to embellish his kingdom, and to humanise his subjects, by familiarising them with beautiful objects of art and other refinements of civilisation. At Pella and other cities, new palaces, and theatres, and temples arose, monuments of his greatness more durable than his victories; while his court was the refuge not only of princes who, like Nectanebus, the conquered king of Egypt, or the satraps Artabazus and Memnon, fled from the wrath of their

Persian master, and who probably by their exhortations and revelations of the weakness of the Empire, contributed to whet the purpose which he already cherished of carrying his arms into Asia; but of artists of every kind, and philosophers, in short, of every man eminent for his knowledge of any of the arts of domestic life. Here, among others of less eminence, Aristotle prosecuted his studies, and was entrusted by the King with that most important of all charges, the education of the youthful Alexander. The foreigners thus indebted to him for protection and patronage, not only extended his reputation for moderation and humanity over Greece, but, what he valued still more, his influence in their respective states. He was too artful and too wise a statesman to trust, when he could help it, to immediate clumsy bribery for the attainment of his objects; the corruption which he preferred was an exaggerated requital of slight benefits, great gratitude for small services, such kindness to those who had deserved little or nothing as might excite large hopes in the breasts of those who were conscious of having earned, or of having the opportunity of earning his real regard. With these views his affability, his justice, and his condescension, were carefully paraded before all men. The Roman Consul who, in his triumphal car endured to hear a slave whisper in his ear, "Remember that thou art a man," perhaps learnt that lesson

from the great King of Macedonia, who every day before he ascended his tribunal or his throne, was by his own command reminded by an officer, that, "He also was mortal." Acting in the spirit of one conscious of this mortality, and of the duties which his rank imposed upon him, he made it a rule which was seldom broken in time of peace, to devote a part of every day to hearing the complaints of those who fancied themselves wronged, and to doing equal justice between his subjects; and, while thus employed, his impartiality and his patience were equally admirable. Plutarch tells us that, on one occasion, he was solicited to modify a sentence, which was to be pronounced against a man of some consideration, whose character it was alleged would otherwise be utterly ruined: "I had rather," said the monarch, "that he should lose his character than that I should destroy mine." More admirable still was his conduct when a poor woman pressed for a decision of her cause, which had been long pending, and he assured her with a bland refusal that he had no time to examine it. "If," said the suitor, "you have no time to do justice, lay aside your crown, you have no time to be king." Struck by the reproof, he heard and decided her cause at once; making thus a practical acknowledgment that he admitted the correctness of her conceptions of the obligations of kingly power, and was bound to act up to them.

It must be confessed at the same time that, in his more unrestrained moments, his affability was too apt to degenerate into buffoonery, his mirth into the grossest debauchery. No doubt many of the stories that have been handed down by the calumnious malignity of Theopompus, and the polluted imagination of Athenæus, are destitute of foundation; but enough, that cannot be denied, remains to prove that he was more than ordinarily addicted to sensual pleasures, in the pursuit of which he was restrained by no sense of regal dignity or manly decency, abandoning himself to excesses which we must excuse or account for by giving heed to the warning so regularly echoed in his own ears, and remembering that he too was mortal.

His power appearing thus fully secured, Philip wished for peace; it has been said already, that he did not seek the conquest of Greece, but a political ascendancy in the several states of which the entire country might be said to be composed; and this ascendancy, to a greater degree than he could have anticipated, he had now secured. The only power that could offer him the slightest resistance was Athens; and to Athens, above almost all other states, he was inclined to be favourable. Moreover, he stood on such a vantage ground, that he could afford to be the first to propose peace, without derogating from his dignity, or seeming to com-

promise his superiority; while the events of the last few years were such, that the two nations could still treat on apparently equal terms. Athens had learnt that her fleet was no longer omnipotent to protect the islands in the Ægean, her merchantmen, and even her sacred galley on her own coasts, or to keep her nearest dependencies, such as Eubœa, in complete subjection; and Philip had been taught that she could still oppose a formidable barrier to his progress, if he wished to carry his victorious arms to the south of his new Thessalian acquisitions; that her fleet was still more powerful than his own; that there was still that patriotism and energy alive in some of her leaders, and that she had still that influence over the councils of other Grecian states, that would make her enmity dangerous, her neutrality important, her cordial alliance the most desirable of all things for the furtherance and completion of his mighty projects.

Accordingly, when the ambassadors from Eubœa were at Athens, treating for a renewal of the old terms of alliance; they said, also, that they were commissioned by Philip to express his desire for a reconciliation: a citizen named Phryno, who had been his prisoner, and had been courteously treated, and had his ransom restored by him, gave a similar account. To improve the opening thus afforded for negociation, Aristodemus, the actor, was sent as an agent to Pella, ostensibly to treat for the release

of some Athenian prisoners who had been taken at Olynthus, but probably with secret instructions of a more important character. The king restored the prisoners without ransom, and Aristodemus brought back so favourable an account of his goodwill to the whole city, that ten ambassadors, among whom were both Demosthenes and Æschines, were appointed to go to Macedonia as commissioners, to ascertain the terms on which the peace and alliance thus mutually desired might be arranged. On their road they found Parmenio, Philip's most trusted general, besieging Halus, a small Thessalian town, which was bound by some slight treaty of alliance to Athens; but Parmenio allowed them to pass through his lines; and they arrived, without hindrance, at the Macedonian Court, where Philip was prepared to exert all the diplomacy, all the dissimulation, and all those powers of conciliation, of which he was so great a master, to win over, or to blind the deputation to the purposes of which, amid all his courtesy and professions of a cordial wish for peace, he was resolved not to abandon the smallest tittle.

The chief difficulty arose from the affairs of Phocis. The peace proposed was to comprehend Athens and Macedonia, and their mutual allies; but Philip refused to allow Halus or Phocis to be included in it, for the Thebans had already solicited his aid against the Phocians, and he would not be

precluded from affording it. Phayllus, who, after the death of Onomarchus, had succeeded to the chief command among his countrymen, had soon afterwards died of disease; and his authority had passed to Phalæcus, a son of Onomarchus, who had continued the sacred war with great energy and success. The expenses which he incurred had, however, been so great, that he had stripped the temple at Delphi of all its treasures, and was preparing to tear up the sacred floor itself for wealth, reported by tradition — supported by a line of Homer—to be concealed beneath, when Apollo interfered by earthquakes to protect his domain from any further sacrilege. The Thebans were assisted by the treasures of the king of Persia, but appear to have wanted a leader of ability sufficient to cope with the Phocian chief, who retained possession of some of their most important towns, such as Orchomenos and Coronea, and of the key of the whole country, the Pass of Thermopylæ. Weary of the war, their chiefs would gladly have reconciled themselves to the Athenians; but the animosities between the two cities were too strong to allow of such an alliance being as yet practicable; so, in their despair they applied to Philip. The Thessalians united with them in urging him to crush the Phocians, who had given them especial offence, by suppressing the meetings of the Amphictyonic Council at Thermopylæ; and they further invested

their joint representations with a sacred character, urging Philip, in the name of the Delphian god, as champion of the Amphictyonic league, to rescue his temple from its sacrilegious usurpers and plunderers.

Philip therefore positively refused to admit the Phocians as parties to the proposed peace; and the Athenians, who had no suspicion of the resolution which he had taken with regard to them, or of his having any inclination to favour the aggrandisement of Thebes; and who were discontented with Phalæcus, who had refused their assistance to guard Thermopylæ, and had insulted their heralds, while proclaiming the Eleusinian Mysteries, at last acquiesced in their exclusion. The commissioners returned to Athens to give an account of their proceedings; and, soon after, Philip sent three ambassadors, Parmenio, his favourite general, Antipater, his most trusted statesman, and Eurylochus, as the formal bearers of his proposals, with further authority to receive the oath of the Athenians and their allies to observe the alliance, if they should be willing to take it. The ambassadors were received and sumptuously entertained by Demosthenes, who was a warm advocate of the peace, and who was gradually brought, with the other leaders of the people, to consent to the abandonment of their Phocian allies; and the peace was formally decreed in the assembly of the people, and sworn to by the

Athenian people and by the envoys from their different allies. The Athenian commissioners were also reappointed to return to Macedonia, and receive the formal ratification of the treaty from Philip; but, when they arrived at Pella, he was no longer in Macedonia.

Cersobleptes had not been expressly named as being either included in, or excluded from, the treaty, the Athenian generals apparently doubting whether their connections with him were such as to warrant them in claiming him for an ally, and Philip having long resolved to annex his dominions to his own. Accordingly, he had scarcely sent Antipater and his colleagues to Athens, when he himself marched into Thrace, reduced an important fortress, called the Sacred Mountain, and prosecuted his conquest as far as the Hebrus, taken Doriscus and other towns, though some of them were actually occupied by Athenian garrisons; at last, having wholly subdued Cersobleptes, and compelled him to give up his son as a hostage, he finally returned to Pella, nearly two months after the conclusion of the treaty at Athens. Even then he delayed for some time longer taking the oath expected of him, while he amused the ambassadors from the different States of Greece, (of whom, besides the Athenian commissioners, a complete congress was assembled from Sparta, and Thebes, and Thessaly, and Phocis,) with hopes of

various kinds; treating the Phocian envoys with marked courtesy, and leading them all, except the Thebans, to believe that the army which he was rapidly collecting, was destined to be poured into the Bœotian territory. Even Demosthenes, the most inclined of all the body to entertain suspicions of his designs, appears to have been the dupe of his artifices, and, without insisting on the immediate ratification of the treaty, to have been contented to accompany his colleagues in Philip's train to the south of Thessaly. At Pheræ at last, in an ordinary inn in the town, Philip swore in the presence of the Athenian commissioners, to observe the treaty, first making a formal protest that the Phocians were excluded from it; and the Athenians returned home bearing with them a letter from Philip apologising for the delay which had taken place, and containing unmeaning assurances of general goodwill, which (backed by the representations of those members of the embassy, whom he had won over, of his intention to grant the people some important favours, such as the restoration of Oropus, and of Amphipolis, or an equivalent for it, and other gratifications of which they had long been desirous) so completely blinded the whole people, that they passed a complimentary decree, thanking Philip for his goodwill; and declared that, if the Phocians did not surrender the Delphian Temple to its rightful guardians, the

Amphictyons, they would themselves assist him in compelling them to do so.

The moment the ambassadors left Pheræ, Philip began his march towards Thermopylæ. Phalæcus had, from some insane jealousy, refused a Spartan reinforcement which Archidamus had offered him; and now found himself deprived of the Athenian support, on which he had reckoned. All resistance was hopeless, and he made his submission to the invader, on condition of being allowed to retire with his army from Phocis. He withdrew into Peloponnesus, and from thence passed into Crete; where he died soon afterwards, having been struck by lightning; or, according to another story, having been assassinated by one of his own soldiers.

Philip marched into Phocis, now completely defenceless. Some of the chief towns surrendered at once; those that resisted were stoned; and they were all alike razed to the ground, and the inhabitants were sold into slavery. The conqueror took possession of Delphi, and, though it was not yet the season for its usual meeting, summoned the Amphictyonic Council to decide on the fate of the remainder of the Phocian nation. In that assembly the unhappy people had no friends, or advocates, or apologists. Their bitterest foes were the Thessalians, who proposed the execution of the whole male population of the age of manhood, as

guilty of sacrilege. Æschines, as one of the Athenian deputies, anticipated Philip in his resistance to such an atrocity; but the doom, dictated by the more merciful temper of the King of Macedon, was such as had never yet been pronounced against a nation. As far as a decree could effect such a thing, the name of Phocis was blotted out from among the States of Greece. All its cities, with the single exception of Abæ, spared, it is said, out of regard to the ancient temple of Apollo which it contained, were utterly destroyed. The inhabitants were compelled to disperse into villages of the smallest size; to pay a vast yearly fine; to be deprived of their horses and their arms; and of their vote in the Council of the Amphictyons, their seat in which was transferred to the Kings of Macedonia; while, as a further recognition of the rights of the whole Macedonian people to the Grecian name, they were admitted to share the future presidency of the Pythian games with the Thebans and Thessalians.

Philip was now most powerful, and, what was more, he had given most terrible proofs of his power. It was but two years before that the whole district of Chalcidice, which had been under the sway of Olynthus, had been depopulated, and now a still more terrible fate had befallen Phocis, which had given him even less grounds for displeasure than Olynthus. Such greatness was too formidable to

be popular; and none were more discontented than the states in the immediate neighbourhood of the conquered district. Thebes, when she invited the spoiler, had hoped for a share of the spoil; and was but little satisfied at deriving no greater advantage than the recovery of her own towns which Phalæcus had held. Athens felt that she had been deluded by the foreign King, perhaps betrayed by her own citizens. Still, when an embassy arrived to demand of the Athenians a formal sanction of the act by which Macedon had been admitted into the Amphictyonic League, even Demosthenes advised them not to provoke a war by withholding their acquiescence; and they were contented to show their dissatisfaction by abstaining from sending the usual deputation of their principal citizens to the Pythian games which took place immediately afterwards, and which, in accordance with the late decree of the Amphictyons, were on this occasion celebrated for the first time under the presidency of Philip.

One citizen of Athens, above all suspicion of corruption, though endowed with wisdom and penetration far inferior to his honesty, appears to have beheld the occurrences which we have just related with satisfaction, as affording an opening for the realisation of a project which for years had been his leading idea. Between thirty and forty years before, Isocrates had published an oration, urging

Athens and Sparta to unite, for the purpose of leading an army, to be contributed by all the Greek States, into Asia, in order to pull down the Persian power, which at the peace of Antalcidas had presumed to dictate to those who were worthy and able to be its masters: and now, in his extreme old age, clinging to the same notion, he addressed an oration or letter to Philip, exhorting him to undertake the enterprise, dwelling not only on his own wealth, and power, and genius, and on the weakness of the Persian Empire, as proved by the safe return of the ten thousand, but insisting with the zeal of an antiquary rather than of a statesman, that Argives, and Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, and Athenians, would gladly yield the supreme command to him on account of his descent from Hercules, to whom all these cities acknowledged themselves bound by ties of more than ordinary closeness and strength.

Whether the warlike tones of the rhetorician reached as far as the Persian court, we know not; but, not long afterwards, Darius Ochus, the victorious Monarch of the East, sent ambassadors to Pella to cultivate the friendship, perhaps to spy out the resources of Philip. He himself was absent from Macedonia, and they were received by Alexander, who, although not past the age of boyhood, in the conversations which he held with them, displayed such acuteness and resolution, and

so correct an appreciation of the true sources and of the proper use of power, that they carried back to their master a very formidable report, not only of the present, but also of the future greatness of the kingdom, the sceptre of which was hereafter to be wielded by such a ruler.

The Argives were indeed willing to become allies, and, if allies, necessarily dependents of Philip, not because Hercules had been born at Argos, but from their jealousy of Sparta. Soon after the peace with Athens statues were erected and crowns voted to him in many cities of Peloponnesus, while he formally declared himself the protector of Messenia, and was acknowledged as the champion of the Arcadian confederacy which Epaminondas had established. So great indeed was his influence becoming in those regions, that Demosthenes again put forth all his exertions to convince his countrymen of the danger with which all Greece was threatened by it, and persuaded them to send an embassy, with himself at its head, to Messene and to Argos to endeavour to counteract it. By the example of Olynthus he warned those cities of the danger of putting themselves in the power of Philip: by the disappointments which the Athenians themselves had suffered, he proved to them the folly of trusting to his promises. Philip was too secure of his own power and importance to the cities thus addressed to entertain any real fear of being injured by these represen-

tations; but he thought it not unbecoming his dignity to send an ambassador of high reputation for eloquence, Python of Byzantium, accompanied by others from the Peloponnesian cities, to Athens, to remonstrate with the citizens for having authorised them, and to give a public refutation of them: and Python pleaded his master's cause with such courage and effect, that Demosthenes thought it necessary to reply to his arguments, which he did in one of his most elaborate speeches, the second Philippic; rating the efforts of the Macedonian orator so highly that years afterwards he took credit to himself with the Athenians for having neither yielded to nor been doubted by his violence, but having maintained the cause and demonstrated the justice of his country.

Philip was usually tolerant of reproofs or attacks, if they did not create any practical obstacles to his designs; and he was too much engaged in other quarters to resent or pay much attention to these denunciations of an orator whose eloquence and penetration he had not yet learned to estimate at their full value. He never was more fully occupied. In the north, and west, and south of Greece he was prosecuting his designs with unremitting and almost simultaneous activity. He had scarcely returned from a successful invasion of Illyria, when we find him in correspondence with Ptæodorus, the leading man in Megara, by whose treachery he hoped to

obtain possession of that most important city. His hopes there were baffled by the vigour of the Athenians, who sent Phocion to the aid of their partisans among the citizens, fortified its harbour, Nisæa, and restored the walls which connected it with the city. Not disheartened by this disappointment, he returned into Thessaly to extend his influence in that country; garrisoned the citadel of Pheræ with his own troops, and, re-establishing the ancient division of the kingdom into four governments, he placed the chiefs of the Aleuadæ, who were his own most devoted adherents, at the head of each tetrarchy; the harbour dues and customs of the kingdom had already been granted to him, and now he seized also on the tribute which Larissa, the principal town in the north, had so long received from the Perrhæbians. Again returning to the north-west, he added some important towns to the south of Epirus to the dominions of Alexander, the brother of Olympias; and even cherished hopes of making himself master of Ambracia, in which, however, he was again disappointed through the vigilance and energy of Demosthenes, who headed an embassy to Acarnania, and succeeded in forming a league which he did not think it prudent to attempt to dissolve by force.

The vigorous opposition of the Athenians, and an expedition which they had made into Magnesia, under Aristodemus, had a manifest tendency to

dissolve the friendly relations that, in name at least, existed between them and the Macedonians. Philip, therefore, sent Python to Athens a second time, to remonstrate against conduct which might not unreasonably be looked upon as an infraction of the treaty lately entered into. And, when the ambassador closed an amicable expostulation by an offer on the part of his master to remodel any part of that treaty which had given umbrage to the people, he was heard with great satisfaction, and an embassy, of which Hegesippus, an orator of the Anti-Macedonian party, was the chief, was sent to Macedonia to negociate. The demands, however, which Hegesippus was instructed to make, such as the cession of Amphipolis and of Halonnesus, and of Cardia, the restoration of the towns conquered in Thrace after the ratification of the treaty at Athens, and the recognition of the independence of other Grecian states, which had never been included in it, were so inconsistent with the relative positions of the two powers, and so completely at variance with Philip's intentions, that the King did not conceal his pleasure, and even banished the Athenian Xenoclides, who resided at Pella, for receiving the ambassadors in his house. At the same time he sent a reply by letter, in which he offered to give up Halonnesus as a free gift to the Athenians; and to submit the other points in dispute to the decision of impartial arbitrators. The Athenians refused all

arbitration, believing it almost impossible to find umpires who would be out of the reach of Philip's corruption. They refused to accept Halonnesus unless it were surrendered as an act of restitution; and this insignificant island continued to be a bone of contention for a long time, being more than once taken and retaken by the rival claimants.

While these demands and counter demands were travelling to and fro, Philip was not inactive. He sent Parmenio with a small force into Eubœa, where he brought over to the Macedonian interest, Eretria and Oreus, the second and third cities in the island, the chief city of all was Chalcis, which remained firm in its alliance with Athens. In the towns that he had acquired on the coasts of the mainland, he was building arsenals and ships, and making evident preparations for some naval expedition; and, at the same time, he was preparing to complete the reduction of Thrace. To the north of the dominions of Cersobleptes there reigned a Prince named Teres, who had formerly been his ally, but who had lately united with Cersobleptes in declaring against him. Philip speedily defeated him and overran his country, and, meditating its future annexation to his own kingdom, built several towns in different parts of it, and compelled many of his subjects to migrate to that uninviting region. The Grecian cities on the coast, and Byzantium, which had of late been inclined to favour his side rather than that of the

Athenians, became alarmed for their independence; while Athens herself became anxious for the safety of the Chersonese. She had lately sent Diopeithes, an energetic though not very politic officer, with a small body of troops to that neighbourhood, and, though there had been no declaration of war, he not only attacked the Cardians, who had received a garrison of Philip into their city, but made inroads into those parts of Thrace which Philip had lately subdued; insulting and plundering some of the Macedonian colonists, and even detaining as a prisoner Amphilochus, who came to him in the character of an envoy to treat for the restitution of the property which he had seized. Though it was plain that such conduct was a flagrant violation of the peace, Philip still contented himself with addressing a friendly complaint by letter to the Athenian people, which gave rise to a fierce debate. The orators whom he had gained over to his interests, aided, it may well be, by some who honestly thought the conduct of Diopeithes indefensible, contended eagerly that he should be recalled, and his army of mercenaries disbanded. But Demosthenes insisted that the real question for decision was not whether he had acted in the spirit of the peace, but whether he had not done the best for the interests of Athens. He maintained that the Athenians had as much right to assist the Thracians as Philip had to attack them; and, if they disbanded the army, which was

on the spot, they would be leaving Byzantium and the other cities in that district at his mercy; that they ought rather to add to their military establishments, and to seek by all the means in their power to rouse the rest of the Greeks to a sense of their danger from the common enemy. The great orator prevailed so far that Diopeithes was continued in his command, and the success of his arguments and the failure of his own expostulations must have added fuel to the angry feelings with which Philip was beginning to regard the Athenians. He soon had more positive causes for discontent. Every day was adding to the political influence of Demosthenes among his countrymen, and he now was able to persuade them to send deputies to Eubœa to arrange operations with Callias, the head of their party in that island, and the chief citizens of Chalcis; and, soon afterwards, he induced them also to send out to the island a force under Phocion, which drove the Macedonian governors and garrisons out of Oreus and Eretria. Callias even landed on the Thessalian coast, near Pagasæ, where he took several towns in dependence upon Philip, and several vessels actually belonging to him, and sold the crews as slaves; the Athenians identifying themselves with his actions by passing a public vote of thanks to him for his services; while, during the time occupied by these events, Demosthenes himself went as ambassador to Byzantium, and, by his eloquence, brought the

citizens of that important city to see so clearly that their true interest should lead them to combine against Philip, that both they and the neighbouring city of Perinthus contracted a close alliance with the Athenians.

Philip, to whose ulterior views nothing could be more disadvantageous than the loss of Byzantium, resolved to attack these cities at once; but it seemed desirable in the first place to reduce Selymbria (the modern Selivria), which lay on the coast of the Sea of Marmara between them. He had hitherto forborne, under whatever provocation, from any overt acts of hostility to the Athenians; but, now that it was clear that the open declaration of war could not be long delayed, hearing of the approach of a fleet of twenty ships under Laomedon, whose object, however disguised, was undoubtedly to bring provisions and succours to Selymbria, he sent Amyntas to attack it. The Athenians, disappointed and enraged, sent ambassadors to remonstrate with him on this open violation of the peace; and still he answered them courteously, that he was perfectly aware that, whatever had been the public orders given to their admiral Laomedon, the real object of the expedition was to relieve Selymbria. He would, however, restore the ships, and would still respect the peace, if the Athenians did not compel him to disregard it by listening to evil counsellors.

Selymbria soon fell,* and he then proceeded to lay siege to Perinthus (the modern Erekli), while his army laid waste the Thracian Chersonese itself. This gratuitous injury amounted in the eyes of the Athenians to a positive declaration of war, and they accordingly, on hearing the news, passed a decree to remove the pillar on which the record of the peace was engraved, and to renew the war on their side. While, at the same time, Philip addressed another letter to the Athenians, complaining of all the injuries which he had sustained from them :—"They had," he said, "insulted his heralds; they had encouraged his allies to revolt; they had harassed his commerce, and invaded or countenanced invaders of his territory; they had co-operated with his enemies in Thrace; and had even solicited the aid of the King of Persia, the common enemy of Greece, against him; they had refused his offers to submit to arbitration all the matters in dispute between themselves and him, and had given themselves up to the guidance of leaders whose private interests

* A great portion of the Life of Philip has to be gleaned from indirect and scanty sources. Nothing can show more completely the uncertain character of the ground on which the historical inquiries is treading throughout this period, than Grote's words in reference to the events which have been described above: "I do not believe that the siege of Selymbria ever occurred."—Vol. xi. p. 630, note 1. I have followed Bishop Thirlwall, as the highest of all living authorities on every question connected with Grecian history or literature, and as one whose arguments on this point in particular appear quite conclusive.

were at variance with the real welfare of the people. It would be easy for him to purchase either their silence or their advocacy, but he should be ashamed to appear to traffic for the goodwill of the nation, with such shameless brawlers. They had begun the quarrel, and now, with the consciousness that he had justice on his side, he would defend himself to the best of his ability, and he doubted not of the favour of the gods, who were the witnesses of the truth of his assertions."

The siege of Perinthus called forth the greatest efforts of both sides. The town was very strong by its natural situation, being built on a promontory connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, and descending so precipitously into the sea, as to be quite unassailable on that side. Philip's army amounted to no less than 30,000 men; and, having long devoted great attention to this part of the military art, he now brought against the town new engines and modes of attack hitherto unexampled. His chief engineer was Pôlyeidus, a Thessalian; and, under his direction, battering-rams of increased size and improved construction shook the battlements above, mines threatened their foundations below, while huge towers, 120 feet high, were wheeled up to the walls, from which soldiers, looking down upon even the highest towers of the city, harassed the garrison with incessant clouds of missiles, and threatened to descend into the city

itself. Still the besieged continued an undaunted resistance: when the outer wall was taken, the town itself supplied a fresh line of defence equally tenable; their obstinate courage gave time for Chares to be sent to their relief with a fleet and army from Athens, and for the Persian satraps to supply them with provisions and reinforcements; till, at the end of three months, Philip was forced to raise the siege. Marching with speed to Byzantium, he tried to surprise that important city; but here, also, he was met by an equally vigorous resistance. The Athenians sent Phocion to the rescue with a still more powerful fleet; the islanders of the Ægean came to the aid of a city, the safety of which was so important to them, as the chief emporium from whence they drew their supplies of corn; and Philip was again baffled. He retired toward the Chersonese; but, on his raising the siege of Byzantium, Phocion had anticipated his designs, and hastening to the Propontis, had secured the safety of that district. Baffled again, the King turned his arms in another direction. He had been insulted by Atheas, king of the Scythians; and his expostulations had been met with taunts and threats. The ill-temper of the barbarian was beneath his notice; but the prospect of repairing his finances, which had been severely drained by his extensive military preparations, was too tempting to be resisted; he crossed the Danube, routed

the enemy, and was returning with an immense booty, when he was attacked by the Triballi, a tribe occupying the region between Mount Hæmus and the river; and in a fierce battle which ensued, he was so severely wounded, that it was reported that he was slain.

While he lay on his sick bed, slowly recovering from his wound, circumstances were paving the way to the further accomplishment of his designs. A new sacred war arose, the pretext for which was the fact that, though, two centuries before, the town of Cirrha, the Delphic port, had been destroyed and condemned, with all solemn formality, to perpetual desolation, the Locrians of Amphissa had repaired it; and the deputies present at the Amphictyonic council could, from their very place of meeting, behold ships sailing into the well-frequented harbour. The Amphictyons now inflicted a heavy fine upon the Locrians, and appointed Cottyphus, a Pharsalian, their general, to enforce its payment. Cottyphus failed, apparently because his influence was insufficient to collect an army around his standard; and in their second meeting in the autumn, the Amphictyons again had recourse to Philip, and appointed him, as in the last sacred war, the champion of the council, and general of the army of the god.

With great joy did he accept the charge which brought him into the neighbourhood of his enemies

under the appearance of being engaged in their cause; for it was the Athenian Æschines who had first excited the wrath of the Amphictyons against Amphissa; though Demosthenes warned him then, with a foresight which none of his countrymen shared, that he was bringing an Amphictyonic war into Attica. It was Æschines who had supported Philip's appointment as general; and when he reported his proceedings at Delphi to the people, they, by their approbation, ratified and adopted them. They soon learnt that they themselves had put weapons of destruction into the hands of their enemy. Philip passed Thermopylæ and entered Phocis; but, instead of hastening onwards to the south of that district, he halted at Elatea, a town just within its northern frontier, and began to repair its fortifications, and to put it in a strong state of defence, sending envoys at the same time to Thebes to announce his intention of marching upon Attica, and urging the Thebans to join him with their army, or at least to grant him a free passage through their territories.

The news of his proceedings quickly travelled to Athens, and caused a consternation as great as if the enemy had been at the gates; for once, as in times long gone by, the crisis produced wisdom and energy in her councils; Demosthenes took the lead, and the citizens submitted cheerfully to the only man capable of guiding them. An army was got

ready to march: the fund which had so long been wasted on the amusement of the people, was appropriated to their defence, and an embassy, with himself at its head, was sent to Thebes to endeavour to effect a close alliance with that city on terms of perfect equality. Philip had calculated on the jealousy that the Thebans had so long entertained of Athens; he was not aware that they had begun to look on him with equal suspicion and with still greater apprehension. He had lately taken Nicæa from them and given it to the Thessalians; and his armed occupation of Elatea seemed to bear testimony to designs against their independence after he should have subdued his more immediate adversary. Demosthenes made no weak use of these arguments when he arrived at Thebes. The Macedonian ambassadors were already there; but his eloquence, and the honourable terms of the alliance which he proposed, turned the scale, and he was completely successful. The Athenians were invited to send their army into Bœotia, where it was joined by a force from Thebes: and the two cities, for the first time in Grecian history, were united in cordial co-operation for a common object.

Philip, as soon as he heard from his ambassadors of the failure of his negociations, altered his plan, and renewed his professions of chastising the Locrians; he sent messengers to his Peloponnesian allies to join him, which they could hardly do while

Bœotia was hostile, and while the northern coasts of the Corinthian gulf were in the hands of the enemy. The Athenians, by the advice of Demosthenes, sent some succours to the Amphissians; and two or three conflicts ensued, with alternations of good and ill-fortune, though the balance of success was in favour of the allies, and the advantage that they gained on one occasion appeared of such importance that public rejoicings were celebrated at Athens in honour of it.

In a very short time jealousies began to spring up between the allied nations, and encouraged Philip to renew his overtures to Thebes to combine with him against Athens. They were rejected, however, and the generals of the allied armies, who were all of the anti-Macedonian party, determined to cut the ground from under the feet of those who wavered, by engaging the Macedonians in a pitched battle. The numbers on each side were very nearly equal, amounting to about 30,000 men. But the commanders were very unequally matched; Demosthenes was present in the Athenian army, but, though his countrymen had now learnt his value as an adviser, he had no military reputation and no authority. The Athenian troops were led by Lysicles and Chares, the Thebans were commanded by Theagenes; none of them possessed that reputation for either military skill, or good fortune, which could give their soldiers much hope

in a contest with a king so brave, so active, so skilful, and so successful as Philip. At Chæronea, a small town on the western side of Bœotia, the two armies met early in August. Philip would willingly have renewed the negociations for peace, in the hope of detaching the allies from one another; but the influence of Demosthenes prevailed to persuade them to prefer the risk of a battle to the certain destruction of disunion. Accordingly, both parties prepared for battle: Alexander, who had brought his father a strong reinforcement, though it was his first battle, was entrusted with the task of opposing the Thebans, while Philip himself led his veterans on the other wing where the Athenians were arrayed. The Thebans proved the most stubborn antagonists; the Athenians effected little or nothing against the renowned phalanx; but the Sacred Band, the sole relic of the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, proved itself worthy of its founders, till it was at last broken by the resistless fury of Alexander, and perished to a man on the ground which it occupied; then the rout was complete. The Theban loss is not recorded; of the Athenians 1000 fell, and 2000 were taken prisoners. But the importance of the Macedonian victory could not be measured by the loss of the enemy. The confederacy against Philip was broken for ever, and it was hopeless to dispute his supremacy for the future.

The consternation at Athens was great, but still Demosthenes, and the citizens who relied upon his guidance, could not despair of the republic: they began at once to fortify their walls and to send to solicit aid from every state that might be willing to afford it. Philip, in his exultation, at first acted a less worthy part; he feasted, he drank, he danced about his tent and over the field of battle, singing in derision of the Athenian people, and of his chief antagonist Demosthenes: but, when his more sober moments returned, his conduct to his prisoners was more worthy of the greatness of his victory, and of himself. The Thebans, indeed, he looked upon as deserters from his side, and for them he had neither mercy nor justice. The living captives he sold into slavery, and exacted a ransom even for the dead; but his Athenian prisoners he released, uninjured and unpillaged, not only exacting no ransom for them, but in many cases, even recompensing them for what they had lost.

And the same distinction which he made between individuals, he continued between the states. The Thebans he stripped of their Bœotian supremacy, and placed a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea. To the Athenians he restored Oropus, which he compelled the Thebans to resign. He compelled them indeed to acknowledge his supremacy, which it was impossible to contest; but of the power

which they really possessed he did not seek to deprive them.

He now proceeded to Corinth, where he presided at a congress of deputies whom he had invited from all the cities of Greece. Sparta alone sent no minister to the meeting. Every other state agreed in nominating him the commander-in-chief in the war which it was resolved to undertake against Persia: and the contingents which were to be furnished by each people were carefully assessed and ordered to be got ready. As Sparta had disdained his invitation, he resolved to humble her, and, marching into Laconia with his army, ravaged her whole territory as far as Gythium, where he erected a trophy to mark the completeness of his triumph, and the submission which she was at last compelled to make to his demands. In every other district of Peloponnesus, he was received with the highest honour. Statues were erected to him at Olympia, at Megalopolis his name was given to a portico; and the King of Macedon, who, but a few years before, was required to prove his title to the name of a Greek, was now the undisputed master of Greece.

Abroad he was universally triumphant; the only resistance that could be offered to him in the whole world was in his own palace. Olympias, a woman at all times of jealous and furious temper, had not disguised her displeasure when, adopting

the eastern fashion of polygamy, he had formed additional matrimonial alliances. She had now still graver cause for displeasure; for not only had Philip lately espoused Cleopatra, the niece of his general Attalus, but a rumour had arisen of his intention to repudiate herself; and Attalus had been so imprudent as to reveal the hopes which he had conceived, that, if his niece should present Philip with a son, that son might be declared his heir to the exclusion of her own child Alexander. At the banquet in honour of the marriage, at which Alexander was present, while Olympias was probably still residing in the palace, when they were all heated with wine, for deep drinking was the fashion of the Macedonian court, Attalus unabashed by the presence of the prince, again gave utterance to his expectations of the result of the marriage in language at which Alexander justly took offence; and, transported with rage and wine, hurled his goblet at his head. Festivity gave place to tumult, the partizans of each clustered around him; Philip himself sprang from his couch, sword in hand to chastise his son, but stumbled in his haste and fell at his length on the pavement; Alexander yielded to his friends and retired, pointing out as he went to the amazed courtiers, that the man under whose guidance they were preparing to pass from Europe to Asia, was himself incapable of walking across a single room.

Olympias and Alexander quitted the kingdom. She took refuge with her brother in Epirus, and sought to rouse him to avenge her wrongs by war. The young prince withdrew into Illyria, against which kingdom Philip was still carrying on hostilities. Philip subdued the Illyrians, and became reconciled to his son, who soon gave him fresh offence by seeking to counteract his plans for the marriage of Arrhidæus, a son who had been borne to him by his Thessalian wife Philinna, proposing to Pixodarus, the father of the intended bride and satrap of Caria, to give her in marriage to himself. Again, however, his father was reconciled to him, though he banished his companions to whose instigation he attributed the design.

The year after the battle of Chæronea was spent in hastening the preparations for the Asiatic expedition. The advanced guard, under Parmenio and Attalus, was actually sent forward and established in Ionia to secure the affection of the Greek cities on the coast, till his own arrival with the main army, which was not intended to be delayed beyond the next summer. But, before leaving Macedon to set out on so distant an expedition, he desired to secure it from danger from any neighbouring power; and, as Olympias was still endeavouring to excite her brother to active measures in her behalf, he detached him from her cause by the offering of his

daughter Cleopatra in marriage. The Epirotic monarch gladly accepted the proposal to which Olympias herself might have been expected not to be averse. And Philip determined to celebrate the marriage with great magnificence before his departure. He was always inclined to extend his personal popularity by hospitality and liberality. And now he proclaimed a solemn festival at Ægæ, to which all the nobles of his own kingdom and of the countries dependent on him were invited. From all quarters multitudes flocked to the scene of festivity; every city sent its honorary ambassadors with golden crowns and complimentary decrees. At a later day it was said that dark omens and ambiguous oracles, which, if rightly understood, might have restrained or damped the universal joy, were not wanting; but in the moment of exultation and anticipated triumph the King had no room for fear or for suspicion. Danger came from a quarter which had been wholly overlooked. A young man named Pausanias, of noble birth, who had been insulted by Attalus and Cleopatra, had applied in vain to Philip for redress. Finding his prayer disregarded, he determined to revenge himself, not on the offender, but on him who had refused him satisfaction. In the middle of the solemnities, as Philip clad in a triumphal robe, and crowned with a festive chaplet, was entering the theatre, unattended even by the ordinary guard of honour, (so fearless was his confidence in the

affections of his people,) Pausanias rushed forward and buried a sword in his body. The blow was instantly fatal. In the first transports of their rage the officers, who overtook the flying murderer, dispatched him upon the spot before he could make any revelation of his motives; so that it could never be certainly ascertained whether he had had any accomplices or instigators. Olympias was very commonly suspected of having, at the least, suspected his intention: it is even said that she had provided horses to secure his escape; and that she paid extravagant honours to his body, crowning his head with a golden crown while his body was exposed on a cross as a parricide, and, when it was taken down, burning it with great solemnity and honouring his memory with yearly sacrifices. That she made no secret of her joy at the death of one against whom she conceived she had just grounds of complaint, is very probable; but the evidence that has come down to us is not sufficient to justify us in fixing the graver charge upon her memory. The stories by which it has been endeavoured to implicate Alexander in the deed are absolutely childish; and the historian who desires to be thought capable of appreciating greatness will disdain to vindicate a hero from the suspicion of having been an assassin.

Philip died in the forty-seventh year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He had scarcely

expired when Alexander, the son of Antipater, hastened to salute his princely namesake as king: who now, without resistance from any quarter, ascended the throne of his powerful and glorious father, to extend his power, and surpass his glory.

THE

LIFE OF FREDERIC THE GREAT,

KING OF PRUSSIA.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was within the memory of the elders of the existing generation, that Eastern Prussia had been held as a fief of Poland by the Margrave, or, as he was more commonly called, the Elector of Brandenburg; but, in the short time that had elapsed since the Great Elector had successfully asserted the independence of his dominions, they had so greatly increased in prosperity and importance, that, in the year 1701, his son was enabled to raise himself to royal dignity; and was recognised by the Germanic diet as King of Prussia, under the title of Frederic I. He died in 1713, and was succeeded by his son Frederic William, who had been married some years to a daughter of George, the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King of England. They had lost several children, and had only one surviving daughter, a girl of two years

old, when on the 24th of January, 1712, another son was born to them, who received the family name of Frederic, which he was destined to make known and respected beyond the confines of Europe, and among nations which had scarcely been reached by the light of civilisation.

His governors and tutors were selected with care and judgment. His immediate instructor was Jandun, the son of a French refugee, but the course of the young prince's studies was regulated in its most minute details by the King himself. Frederic William had a restless mind which, not contented with its proper sphere of action, though sufficiently ample for greater powers, was tormented by the desire of meddling with matters which he did not understand, and with which a wise man would never have interfered. He was not destitute of administrative talents, and felt a sincere desire to improve the internal prosperity of his country, and her importance in the eyes of other nations; but his mind was too narrow to comprehend an enlarged system of either domestic or foreign policy; and his temper was so savage as to neutralise even better directed intentions. Since the days of Commodus or Caracalla, there has been no monarch in Europe, the sight of whom was so formidable to his subjects. All his greetings, all his advice, all his admonitions, came in the uniform shape of blows and curses, which were impartially

bestowed on every rank and profession, and age and sex, of his subjects. Did a clergyman halt on his path to admire the new manœuvres or unwonted splendour of the troops, which the king himself was drilling, the royal corporal would rush at him with uplifted cane, and with a shower of stripes, warn him to return to his closet and pray for his energetic instructor in his duties. Did the judges pronounce a sentence at variance with the notions or caprices of the monarch, he would rush in a fury into court, and with his heavy boots kick them off the bench (a mode of reversing their judgments occasionally imitated by his son). Did he meet a lady in the street, cane and boots came again into requisition, and she was beaten or kicked home, to mind her needle and attend to her household.

But, if he was terrible and odious abroad, he was far more terrible and odious at home. His subjects he could only beat when he saw them, and that they could take care should be a rare event; but his unhappy children were always in his sight. His eldest daughter, has left us an account of her early years, and relates that, even after she was grown up, her father would seize her by the hair with one hand, while he battered her face with the fist of the other; but the brutality of which he was capable was hardly fully developed till his son Frederic was old enough to be the subject of it.

At first it was only a petty meddling tyranny, annoying to the tutors rather than to the pupil. Nothing was left to their discretion; the king himself marked out not only what hours should be allotted to each lesson, but the number of minutes which were to be spent by the prince in dressing, and washing, and saying his prayers. In his studies no indulgence was to be shown to any natural tastes which he might develope. He was to learn French and German, but not Latin; he should study practical science, and eschew metaphysics; above all he must learn to worship God after the Lutheran form, to love his father, and to look upon the sword as "that which alone can confer honour and glory on a prince."

Military glory was the only fame which the king himself desired; but he courted it after a fashion of his own. He did not aspire to have a victorious army, but he wished to have the tallest regiment in the world, and he succeeded. Avaricious in everything else, he starved his ambassadors abroad, and his family at home, to be able to afford above a thousand pounds for a single long-legged recruit from his father-in-law's Irish dominions; for this darling object he feared not to brave the enmity of the Roman Catholic potentates, carrying off a gigantic Abbé, while sacrificing the mass in the north of Italy; and was even won over to the abandonment of his most cherished schemes of

politics by a present of half-a-dozen tall grenadiers from the emperor.

The youthful Frederic was not unwilling to study the science of war, but, unluckily for himself, he had other tastes too. He had a battalion of noble youths, which he himself, when no more than twelve years old, was able to exercise in all their manœuvres; but his sympathy with his father's taste went no farther. Frederic William's time, when not employed in measuring recruits, was devoted to gossiping, smoking, and hunting. His son was proud to his inferiors, hated tobacco, and took no delight in killing boars or partridges. What was worse, he loved fine clothes, had his hair curled, and played exquisitely on the flute. His father burnt his gold-laced coat, pulled his hair out of his head, and broke his flute over it. Graver offences were soon added to the catalogue. The Austrian ambassador, Seckendorf, could find no better means of hindering a double marriage which the queen was bent on promoting between her son and daughter and an English prince and princess, than those of instilling into the royal ear doubts of his son's attachment to the faith of his ancestors. Frederic William turned divine. Every day he assembled his family in his private chapel, where the valet-de-chambre led them in a hymn, and the king himself preached them a sermon. Frederic and his sister laughed, and such combined dis-

loyalty and heresy drove the preacher to madness. On one occasion he tried to push his daughter into the fire; on another to strangle his son with the cord of the window curtain. At last the unhappy young man endeavoured to escape into the dominions of a neighbouring sovereign. This was the crowning iniquity. The king had him tried by court martial, as an officer in the army, for desertion; and, if he had not been deterred by the formal remonstrances of the emperor, who claimed him as a prince of the Empire, would have had him executed for the offence. Katt, a friend, who had been privy to the attempt, was put to death before his eyes, and he himself was kept in the most rigorous confinement in the fortress at Custrin. He was now nearly nineteen. At the end of the year 1730, he was released from close imprisonment, and removed to a small private house in the town, to study finance under M. Hill, the President of the Chamber of War, and of the national domains. After some months, the favourable reports of his diligence and ability, which were forwarded to the king by the appointed officers, procured him permission to visit some of the royal forests; to have two guests a day to dinner, provided the expense did not exceed a shilling a-head including beer; and to ride out, provided he was always accompanied by an officer, who was to take care that neither rides, nor dinners, ever led him

into female society, Frederic himself studied to regain his father's favour by appearing to take greater interest than before in military affairs, and in hunting, sending him at times a piece of venison or of boar of his own killing; and in November, 1731, on the occasion of the marriage of his sister to the Margrave of Bayreuth, he was recalled to Berlin, and formally reinstated in his military rank.

His marriage had long been a subject of disagreement between the king and queen, who had set her heart on marrying him to the English Princess Amelia; but the Austrian influence prevailed; and, in February 1732, Frederic was told that his father had selected for his wife the Princess of Bevern, a niece of the Empress of Germany. He consented, though with some reluctance; and the king, as a reward for his submission, assigned him a separate establishment at Ruppin, though on so scanty a scale, that the emperor's ambassador informed his master that it was impossible for him to live upon his allowance, and procured him a yearly pension from the Imperial Court.

The year and a half which intervened between his first establishment at Ruppin, and his marriage in June 1733, was probably the happiest period of his life. He had a small suite, mostly of his own selection, with whom he used to indulge in almost boyish follies. He attended to business and to his

regiment sufficiently to preserve the good opinion of the king, who kept himself accurately informed of all his proceedings; but the chief part of his time was devoted to his darling pursuits of music and French literature, and to other means of passing his time less innocent and intellectual. After his marriage, the king gave him also a house at Rheinsberg, which, for the remainder of his father's life, was his principal residence, and the repair and embellishment of which was one of his chief occupations and pleasures, though his allowance was still so scanty, that he was obliged not only to continue a pensioner of the emperor, but to consent to receive large presents of money from the Empress of Russia, and also to raise loans from Prussian subjects.

The next year war broke out between France and the emperor, kindled by the competition for the crown of Poland. Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been driven out by Augustus III. of Saxony, was the father-in-law of Louis XV.; accordingly that sovereign took up arms in his cause, and seized Lorraine and Bar, which at that time belonged to the Empire. The imperial army was commanded by Prince Eugene, whose name was still formidable, though age had robbed him of his ancient energy; and Frederic William, as a prince of the Empire, sent his son with 10,000 men to serve under his banner. The campaign, however, was too brief and too unpro-

ductive of great events, to enable Frederic to derive any extended military experience from one who had once been so great a master of the art of war: but Eugene appears to have conceived, and certainly expressed to the king, a very high opinion of the talent and courage of his son, prophesying that he, too, would at some future day become a great commander.

Frederic returned to Rheinsberg, where he passed the next few years in a retirement, half voluptuous and half literary, holding chapters of the order of St. Bayard, a fraternity which he instituted in honour of the knight "sans peur et sans réproche," and of which he made Fouqué, afterwards one of his most trusted generals, Grand Master; having continual plays and concerts, in the last of which he himself was one of the most exquisite performers; taking great interest in the details of his garden and the growth of his different fruit-trees; and, above all, studying mathematics and French literature.

The king was little inclined to look with favour on pursuits of this character; and more than once threatened them with a violent termination; but Frederic kept his regiment in high order, brought his father every now and then a giant for his grenadiers, sent him melons and asparagus from his garden, and averted the impending storm.

As his end approached, the old king became

entirely reconciled to his son, and expressed the greatest affection for, and the greatest confidence in him, declaring that he died contented because he was leaving such a worthy son to succeed him. On the 31st of May, 1740, he died, after having delivered to the prince his crown, his sceptre, and the key of his treasury, in which were found treasures to the amount of nearly nine millions of dollars, or a million and-a-half sterling,—a sum exceeding considerably the yearly revenue of his whole kingdom.

Never since the days of our own Henry V. did the possession of a throne work a more instantaneous change in the character of the possessor; the favourites and feasters of Rheinsberg were in high exultation, and wrote to invite their friends to Berlin, to partake in the golden age which was at hand; but they found that the days of idleness were over, and were admonished by Frederic himself that he would permit "no more fooleries." The old Prince of Anhalt, to whom, as his most distinguished officer, Frederic William, when dying, had given his best horse, full of fears for the future, came to beg that he and his sons might retain their appointments, and that he himself might enjoy his former influence, and received his answer from the king's own mouth, that he hoped all his father's trusted servants would continue to serve him with the same fidelity; but that, for

the future, no one would have any influence but himself.

The first days of his reign were signalised by important reforms; religious toleration was established by law; the courts of law were purified; the torture of witnesses was formally abolished; many onerous taxes were repealed. The nation was suffering from a severe scarcity: on the second day of his reign Frederic ordered the public granaries to be opened, and the corn to be sold at a low price to the poor; and there seemed reason to hope that this was but the auspicious commencement of a reign of moderation, wisdom, and humanity. Over the porch of his palace at Rheinsberg, which had been completed in the preceding year, he had placed the inscription, "*Frederico tranquillitatem colenti.*" And though his father had left him an army of upwards of 70,000 men in the highest state of efficiency, no one suspected that either his talents or his inclinations would lead him to make a more active use of this force than its founder had done.

He had but just returned from a tour through the different provinces on the west side of his dominions, for the purpose of receiving their homage (in the course of which he had enforced his claims to Herstal-on-the-Meuse, by invading the territories of the Bishop of Liege, to whom the citizens conceived their allegiance to be due, though he after-

wards ceded the town to the bishop for a sum of money), when news arrived at Berlin of the death of the Emperor Charles VI., who had aggravated a fit of the gout by intemperance in eating mushrooms, and closed a disastrous reign, October 20; leaving his empire in a state of great disorder and embarrassment. He was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, now Queen of Hungary and Archduchess of Austria, who was married to Francis, Duke of Tuscany and Lorraine, and was now on the point of her confinement. Her father, in spite of ample warnings of the trouble which he was preparing for her by his delay, had omitted to procure the election of Francis, as King of the Romans; the throne of the Empire was consequently vacant, and Frederic thought that the embarrassments by which the queen was surrounded, the weakness of her army, which did not exceed 30,000 men, and the state of the treasury, which was almost empty, afforded him a good opportunity for extending his dominions. As King of Prussia, he was pledged to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, a measure by which the estates of the Empire had enabled Charles VI. to settle his dominions on his daughter in default of male heirs. He was, moreover, under especial obligations to the late emperor, whose energetic remonstrances had saved his life from his father's fury; but these motives were instantly

overcome by ambition. In his manifestoes he set up an absurd claim to Silesia, a province of Austria, all claim to which the House of Brandenburg had formally abandoned many years before; but his real reasons were assigned in a letter to one of his friends, to whom he confesses that he had been seduced by "a desire of glory," and the pleasure of seeing his name in newspapers, and, hereafter, in history.

He instantly began to assemble his troops, and, when all was ready for the invasion of the Queen's territories, he sent the Count de Gotter as his ambassador to Vienna to demand the cession of Silesia; though, before the count could arrive at the Austrian capital, the Prussian troops were actually in the coveted province. The court of Vienna had already been warned by Botta, its ambassador at Berlin, that the preparations of Frederic appeared to be aimed against the queen; but her ministers, who had received from the Prussian envoy the most friendly and positive assurances of his master's determination to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, put no faith in his representations. They were now undeceived; the message with which Gotter was charged was couched in terms of wanton insult. It was delivered in a private audience to Francis, whom he reminded of his want of money and troops; of his need of the Prussian alliance, and demanded

that Silesia should at once be ceded to Frederic, in return for which he would protect the rest of the Austrian dominions from other enemies, and aid Francis in obtaining the Imperial Crown. "Are your troops actually in Silesia?" asked the duke. "They are." With proper dignity the duke refused to enter into a discussion, and the Queen herself refused to see the ambassador while an invading army was in her territories. If the King of Prussia retired from Silesia, she would be prepared to treat at Berlin.

But in spite of the remonstrances of his generals, who, having looked on the scheme with but little favour originally, were additionally discouraged by the firm attitude thus assumed by Austria, Frederic had already got too firm a hold of his prey to be inclined to abandon it at a word. Till the very last moment he had dissembled with the Austrian ambassador. At last, a day or two after Gotter had started for Vienna, he set out from Berlin to join his army, which was already on the frontier. He had already calculated that France, though unwilling to join him openly, would, from her ancient jealousy of Austria, look with no unfavourable eye on his success, and he now expressed that conviction to the French ambassador. "I am going," said he, as he put his foot in the stirrup,—"I am going, I suspect, to play your game. If I throw aces, we will go halves." Fortune favoured him where he did not

expect it. Just at this crisis, Anne, Empress of Russia, whose favourite Biron, Duke of Courland, had been devoted to Austria, died; and the minister of the new emperor was connected by marriage with Winterfeld, one of Frederic's most trusted officers. Winterfeld was instantly sent as envoy to Russia, and before the end of the year, concluded an alliance with that country.

Frederic's first steps were those of unchecked triumph. On the 2nd of January, 1741, Breslau, the capital of Silesia, surrendered to him. Fortress after fortress fell; indeed they were none of them in a state of preparation to resist an attack; and, in the second week of April, Frederic prepared for the first time to meet the enemy in the field of battle. Maria Theresa found herself in the moment of necessity abandoned by her allies. France, when applied to, showed an inclination to negotiate with Frederic. England, though there was no doubt of the friendly disposition of George II., was too much distracted at the time by domestic dissensions to afford her any effectual help. The Queen had no one to trust to but herself, but she was of too high a spirit to prove unequal to the emergency. By the beginning of April she had assembled 25,000 men under Count Neupperg; a force which, though far inferior in numbers to the whole of the Prussian army in Silesia, was nearly equal to the division with which Frederic himself was present in Upper

Silesia. Frederic had with him Marshal Schwerin, one of the most experienced and distinguished officers in Europe; and acted under his advice when the two armies had approached so near that a battle was inevitable. The battle was fought at Molwitz on the 10th of April. It was obstinately contested. Frederic's cavalry, which he commanded in person, was put to flight, and the king himself gave up all for lost, and hurried to Oppeln, which he thought friendly, but which had been seized by some hussars of the enemy, who made prisoners of his companions, while he, on discovering his error, was saved by the fleetness of his horse. Schwerin still held his ground, and at last, by the steadiness of the Prussian infantry, the fortune of the day was retrieved, and the Austrians were driven from the field. The numbers of killed and wounded were nearly equal; but the Austrians lost 1200 prisoners, some cannon and standards; and, in addition to their previous difficulties, were exposed to the evils which the ill-success of a first step so commonly brings after it.

The political consequences of the victory were very important. Bavaria, the elector of which had claims upon some of the queen's dominions, which he had been too weak to advance, now gained courage to prefer them openly, and took up arms against her. France joined in the war as an ally of Bavaria; the English parliament indeed voted her

a sum of money, but George II. was deterred by his anxiety for Hanover from committing any acts of open hostility against Frederic, and sent Lord Hyndford to endeavour to act as meditator between the contending parties. A sort of armistice was concluded, on condition of the queen ceding to Frederic the whole of Lower Silesia, and a portion of the Upper Province; and the ensuing winter was spent in negotiations.

Meantime, everything prospered with Frederic. Marshal Belleisle overbore the pacific influence of Henry, and concluded a secret treaty with him. The Elector of Bavaria, who was descended from a daughter of Ferdinand I., was elected Emperor of Germany. Every day seemed to add to the desolation of the queen, who still faced her distresses with unbroken spirit. She determined to throw herself upon the States of Hungary, and summoned them to meet her in their National Diet on the 13th of September. In the ancient castle of Presburg, wearing the Hungarian dress (its colour was still that of mourning for her father), with the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and the sacred scimitar at her side, she appealed to her nobles for assistance: she told them that the invasion of Austria was fraught with imminent danger to their country also. "The kingdom of Hungary itself," said the royal suppliant, "my own person, my offspring, my crown, are at stake. Deserted by all, I place my single

confidence in the loyalty of the illustrious states, in the arms and ancient valour of my Hungarians." The sight of their beautiful and trusting sovereign kindled the enthusiasm of the nobles. The hall rang with the clash of swords, and with the loyal shout, which was no empty profession, "Let us die for our Sovereign Maria Teresa!"

Men and money were voted with profusion; crowds from every quarter of the kingdom flocked around the royal standard. And it was not too soon. The Bavarian troops with their French allies had occupied Linz, and were within two days' march of Vienna. The hopes of any permanent treaty with Frederic were daily becoming slighter. "Don't talk to me of magnanimity," said he to Lord Hyndford; "a prince ought to regard nothing but his interest." And in December, in spite of the truce which was still in existence, he invaded Moravia and seized Olmutz; and at the beginning of the next year he advanced towards Vienna. Feeling himself not strong enough to attack that city, he retired towards the Elbe; and, after much marching and counter-marching, was attacked by Prince Charles of Lorraine, the brother-in-law of the queen, with 30,000 men. His own numbers were somewhat inferior, but the superiority of the Prussian discipline again prevailed, and the Austrians were beaten with considerable loss, and forced to retreat into Moravia. This second defeat compelled the queen to

agree to a peace, which was signed at Breslau, July 28, and by which she ceded nearly the whole of Silesia and Glatz to Prussia; and Frederic endeavoured to secure himself further against any future reverse of fortune by a treaty with George II., by which the two sovereigns mutually guaranteed to each other the inviolability of their European dominions. The French were highly indignant at these negotiations being completed without any communication being made to them; but they gained nothing by their remonstrances, as Frederic made no mystery of his knowledge that they also had been secretly negotiating with Austria to desert him.

Relieved from the hostility of Prussia, Maria Teresa carried on the war with such success against the emperor and his French allies, as to awaken the jealousy of Frederic, who had probably never intended the peace of Breslau to be one of long duration. And the defeat of the French by Lord Stair at Dettingen completed his uneasiness, lest the English alliance should make her too powerful for his views. Henry was just dead, and the new French ministry conceived that he might easily be induced to unite with them in a fresh attack upon Austria; and sent Voltaire, with whom Frederic had already made acquaintance, in the autumn after his accession, and for whom he expressed the most unbounded admiration, to ascertain his inclination. Frederic had no opinion of Voltaire's diplomatic

talents, and was not influenced by so informal a mission as that of a poet furnished with neither credentials nor authority; but the proposals of which he was the bearer coincided with his own wishes and intentions, and he determined on renewing the war.

As in the former war he had not professed to entertain any objects but his own aggrandisement, he now, on the contrary, issued a manifesto breathing nothing but moderation and disinterestedness, announcing that he only took arms as an ally of the emperor, to restore peace to Germany and to Europe, and immediately marched into Bohemia with an army of 100,000 men, in three divisions. At the beginning of September he arrived before Prague, which, after a fortnight's siege, surrendered, with its garrison of 12,000 men; and other towns of less importance fell into the hands of the invaders. But, in the meantime, Prince Charles effected a masterly passage of the Rhine, in spite of the French and Bavarian army, and arrived in Bohemia in the rear of the Prussians, in the hopes of intercepting their communications, and destroying them by famine. His scheme of intercepting them was disappointed, since the want of provisions which, before his arrival, had been severely felt in the Prussian camp, had already compelled Frederic to commence his retreat; but the prince and Marshal Traun hung

upon his rear, and, while they defied all his efforts to bring on a regular battle, harassed him by skirmishes and attacks, by which his army suffered so much that, on its arrival in Silesia, at the beginning of December, Frederic had hardly half the number of men around his standards that he had led into Bohemia only three months before.

It had been a most disastrous campaign; and Frederic showed his mortification by a strange edict, forbidding any of his subjects to speak either well or ill of it. In later years, he could look on it with mere indifference, and impartially trace its misfortunes to their proper cause. He says himself, in his Memoirs, that his "grand army, which was to have swallowed up Bohemia and overrun Austria, met with the same fate as the invincible armada of Spain." And he owns, too, that the disasters which he incurred were the result of his own unskilful generalship, and of the superiority of the tactics of Marshal Traun. His own words are that, "he considered this campaign as his school in the art of war, and Marshal Traun as his master." The next campaign showed how greatly he had profited by the severe lesson which he had received. His losses, however, had been so severe that he would willingly have retired from the war, if he could have done so without loss of honour, or without making any important concessions. And he accordingly applied to England to renew her

mediation; but the changes which were taking place at the time in the English ministry, in which the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham had just succeeded Lord Carteret, prevented her interference; and, while he was awaiting the result of his application, he still applied himself diligently to recruit his army, and to raise funds for the war; coining even the silver plate and chandeliers of his palace at Berlin into money. Nor was the Queen of Hungary idle on her part. Elated at her success, she issued a manifesto charging Frederic with having broken the treaty of Breslau, and by such conduct having forfeited all claim to Silesia; and on the 8th of January, 1745, she concluded a treaty at Warsaw with England and Saxony, and the States of Holland; while, before the end of the month, her enemy the emperor died, broken down by the unceasing train of misfortunes which his acquisition of the imperial dignity had brought upon him. Hungary raised her a numerous army, and she received important subsidies from England; so that Prince Charles was able to take the field at the head of a formidable force, as soon as the return of spring allowed of the resumption of military operations.

Frederic rejoined his army in March, and contented himself with defensive operations in Silesia, to which province Prince Charles was advancing, at the head of forces very superior in number to that of the Prussians. On the 4th of June the two

armies met at Hohenfriedberg, where Frederic showed how great an addition of military skill he had derived from his meditations on his reverses in the past campaign. During the winter he had paid great attention to the discipline of his cavalry, and had trained it to make the most rapid charges without being disordered; and in this battle it for the first time proved superior to the Austrian hussars, and contributed greatly to the victory. The rapidity of his movements disconcerted the Austrians, who were also perplexed with false intelligence, and, in spite of the most heroic efforts on the part of their leaders, they were routed with a loss of 9000 killed and wounded, an equal number of prisoners, and the greater part of their artillery, while the loss of the Prussians scarcely exceeded 2000 men. Just before the battle, a French officer arrived in the Prussian camp, who had been sent by Louis XV. with the news of the battle of Fontenoy. Frederick detained him till after the battle, when he sent him back with a brief note, couched in the following terms: — "Sir, my brother; I have paid at Friedberg the bill of exchange which you drew upon me at Fontenoy." In, reality, however, he was greatly dissatisfied with the efforts which the French king made for the common cause, and remonstrated with him with such vehemence — saying, among other things, that a victory on the Scamander or at Pekin would have been of as much real

service as the battle of Fontenoy—that Louis, whose reign had not been so fertile in laurels as to be able to afford that those which had been gained should be disparaged, was greatly offended, and the ill-will which he now excited was destined to bear bitter fruit to Frederic in future years.

Frederic again turned his thoughts to peace; and in August prevailed on George II. to exert his influence with the queen to renew the treaty of Breslau; promising in that case to give his vote for her husband at the approaching election of emperor; but Maria Teresa rejected his overtures; the election of Francis was already secured, in fact he was elected emperor on the 13th of September; and this dignity increased her confidence to such a degree that she declared that "she would part with the gown from off her back, before she would abandon the idea of recovering Silesia."

Again Prince Charles attacked the king with great superiority of numbers, but again he was defeated with great loss, chiefly through the misconduct of his light cavalry; who, having made themselves masters of the Prussian camp and baggage, spent the time in plundering and getting drunk which should have been employed in attacking the rear of the enemy and deciding the victory. The battle of Sorr convinced the Empress of the impossibility of continuing the war with success; her Saxon allies, too, were beaten in one or two trifling actions, and in a

great battle at Kisseldorf; and Frederic made himself master of Dresden, and, with Dresden, of the chief revenues and resources of King Augustus; and at that city on Christmas-day, 1745, peace was signed, by the conditions of which Maria Teresa abandoned all claim to Silesia, and Frederic formally acknowledged Francis as Emperor of Germany.

On the 28th of December, Frederic returned to Berlin in triumph, where he was received by the people with great joy, who raising shouts of "Long live Frederic the Great," conferred on him a title which has continued permanently attached to his name. He had not, however, any reason to congratulate himself on having engaged in the last war; the glory of the second campaign, it was true, had effaced the recollection of the disasters of the first, but he had gained no advantages of any kind for his kingdom; on the contrary, the improvements which he had begun to make in Silesia had been arrested, his treasury had been exhausted, and his army and kingdom had been weakened by the great losses of men which had been sustained. His only comfort was, that the losses of the Austrians and Saxons were still more severe.

He now turned his attention to improving the internal condition of his kingdom, in order to repair the injuries sustained in the war, by a prudent administration of the resources of peace.

He had commenced his reforms immediately after the termination of the first war, and he now applied himself to carrying his views into effect with unparalleled diligence. At the commencement of his reign his reply to the old Prince of Anhalt's request, that he might not lose his influence in the army, had been, that no one would have any influence in anything but himself. And, the instant that peace was re-established, he began to show that this was no unmeaning form of words, but a resolution to be most strictly adhered to: to perform it he imposed on himself an amount of incessant daily labour, to which scarcely any one else would have been equal; and to which certainly no other human being, not under the necessity of earning his daily bread, ever voluntarily submitted. Silesia was one of the first objects of his care. Frederic in person examined into every detail of its finances; visited all its important towns, and arranged what fortifications should strengthen some, what manufactures should be established to give employment in others. In his hereditary dominions, the administration of the law had been in a very uncertain state, owing partly to the youth and inexperience of the judges, and partly to the smallness of their salaries, which made them look with eagerness for fees. The King issued an ordinance, that from every decision of any court of law, there should be an appeal to himself, and that every subject should be at liberty

to address him personally, respecting any grievance by which he might think himself injured.

Nor was it only for the redress of evils that he was to be approached; every wish, however trifling or unreasonable, was likewise to be brought before him, with the single restriction, that its expression should not take up more room than one side of a sheet of paper; a longer letter was likely to be tossed into the fire unread, or, if read, was almost sure of an unfavourable answer; but, if couched in terms of the required brevity, a request for a grant from the treasury to encourage a rising manufacture, or for an order to see a review, were equally sure of instant attention. Nothing was so important as to engross the sovereign's whole attention; nothing so trivial as not to obtain some share of it. The same day might see him drawing up the most minute regulations for the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and deciding on the amount of pocket-money which he would allow to be taken abroad by some one who, with great difficulty, had obtained permission to visit foreign countries; negotiating with the chief potentates of Europe, and quarrelling with an opera dancer about her salary. To be able to get through this great amount of work, he rose at three in the summer, and at four in winter; a quarter of an hour sufficed to complete his toilet; and, as soon as he was dressed, a clerk brought him the letters which had

arrived since the preceding morning. By a mark, or a word or two written in each, he indicated the answer to be given by his secretaries, and in the evening he affixed his signature to the answers, examining a bundle of them taken at random from the rest, to guard against any treachery or mistake on their part. When this was done, by which time it was eight or nine o'clock, he would walk up and down the room playing the flute; and receiving any of his cabinet councillors who had business to transact with him. At eleven, he reviewed his guards, and at the same hour all the colonels of his different regiments did the same, wherever they might be stationed. After the review, he dined with his brothers, and some of his chief officers. The time between dinner and seven o'clock was devoted to study; and the day closed with a concert, at which he himself was the principal, and one of the most skilful performers.

The same spirit which induced Frederic to undertake in person the varied duties of minister and clerk, caused him also to engross to himself, as king, many of those branches of trade which as more extended commercial experience shows, always flourish better in private hands, under the influence of competition. But, he had no idea of encouraging anything by any other means than by doing it himself; consequently, to promote the growth of tobacco, he established a royal monopoly under

the name of the General Tobacco Administration. Because France derived a considerable revenue from the sale of coffee to Prussia, he established a coffee monopoly; and defined by the most minute regulations who might buy it raw, and who must be content to purchase it ready roasted and parched in royal tin cases.

In one respect, Frederic might have been pronounced in advance of his age as a legislator, if there were not reason to fear that the real mainspring of his conduct was indifference to all religion. Whatever his motive was, he established the most complete religious toleration in every part of his dominions. The religion of Prussia was Lutheran; the form which prevailed in his new acquisition of Silesia was Roman Catholic; but the Silesians found that the difference of the religion they professed, made none in the favour with which they were regarded by their sovereign. Even Jesuits, when expelled from the countries most devoted to the Pope, were protected in Protestant Prussia; and infidels, whose impiety was condemned by Parliaments who applauded Rousseau and worshipped Voltaire, found safety and honourable employment from the champion of religious freedom.

There was another point also in which he showed himself more enlightened than his contemporaries, and indeed than any ruler of continental Europe at

the present day, and it is one respecting which his motives are liable to less suspicion. His subjects were allowed a most perfect liberty of speaking, writing, and publishing whatever they pleased. The very lowest lampoons and satires, and libels on his administration, or on himself, were secure of perfect impunity, and did not lose their publishers the least portion of the royal favour. Fully adopting his father's maxim, that the sword was the only weapon of importance to a king, he looked with supreme disdain on all who could wield none of more power than a tongue or a pen, and measured all efforts of important hostility by one uniform standard. Accordingly, Dr. Moore, the author of "Zeluco," observes, that nothing in Prussia surprised him more than the freedom and openness with which attacks upon the King's policy, and even upon those parts of it, as to which conscience might have been expected to make him somewhat uneasy, such as the partition of Poland, were sold at Berlin. And this at a time when in England the whole weight of the government was exerted to crush the author of the "North Briton." But Frederic regarded nothing but the power or inability of the writers to enforce their views by arms. He was told that a particular person was in the habit of speaking ill of his government. "How many thousand men," he replied, "can he bring into the field to attack it?" On another occasion, in the early unpopularity of his

coffee monopoly, he saw a crowd straining their eyes to obtain a sight of a ludicrous caricature of himself, with a coffee-mill between his knees, grinding away with one hand, and picking up any berries that fell with the other. He ordered it to be taken down and placed lower on the wall, that people might look at it with more ease. He and his people, he said, had come to an understanding that he was to do what he chose, and that they were to say what they chose. And his people were abundantly satisfied with a license so unusual from an arbitrary sovereign.

But the most beneficial direction of all that his efforts as a ruler took, was that which led him to the mitigation of the severity of the law. In the middle of the last century, extreme punishments were in undiminished favour with all legislators. The number of crimes punishable with death in England was fearfully enormous, while in France criminals, as in the case of Damien, could still be exposed to the most inhuman tortures. Frederic was the first ruler of a country who aimed at preventing crime, rather than at punishing it; and who at the same time conceived the idea, that the true method of prevention was to be found in diminishing the severity of the punishment, and especially in a more sparing resort to capital sentences. The result proved favourable to his anticipations. Before the end of his reign there was no country in Europe

in which the more heinous crimes were so rare as in Prussia, and he had the pleasing reflection that, in humanising the laws, he had humanised the people also.

His military code, however, received no such amelioration. In the army no error was overlooked. No rank could save the offender. The slightest violation of the articles of war was visited with such tremendous floggings, that the guilty soldier often entreated to be hanged as an indulgence; while any failure or want of success in the operations of war, was sure to bring on the unlucky officer a deprivation of his rank and employment; perhaps even banishment from his country. Frederic's maxim appeared to be, that it was only his reliance on the unflinching obedience of his army which could enable him to treat the rest of his subjects with moderation and indulgence.

The multifarious duties which he imposed on himself did not prevent his giving attention also to the pursuits which embellish life. His taste for and skill in music have been mentioned. He was anxious also to encourage correct principles of taste in his people. With this view, though economical and even niggardly in general, he expended large sums on the ornaments of public buildings; established a board of architecture, and purchased at a high price some fine collections of antiquities and statues. But his own chief delight, and the object

of his most eager patronage was French literature. With his own language he had but a slight acquaintance, not much more than would enable him to swear at or gossip with his soldiers; but French had been the passion of his boyhood, his favourite tutor had been a Frenchman. In the middle of the last century Germany had produced no author of high reputation in any path of literature, while the glories of the age of Louis XIV. were still the common topic of conversation, and the present renown of Voltaire filled every mouth, and inspired the ambition of every scholar.

Soon after the peace of Breslau, the king instituted the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, in imitation of the French Academy; and supported it, by endowing it with a right to the exclusive sale of almanacs throughout the kingdom, becoming himself the patron of it, and nominating a Frenchman named Maupertuis its president. Most of the members were of course Germans, but, by the king's command, all papers read before it were required to be written in French. He himself produced many of his works at its meetings; and to enliven its sittings, he invited men of literary reputation from every part of continental Europe, but above all from France. The luminary, however, whom he was most anxious to secure was Voltaire himself. Even before his accession to the throne, he had been in correspondence with him, and

Voltaire had corrected and conducted the publication of his essay in reply to the "Principe" of Machiavelli. A couple of months after his father's death, he had gone to Cleves for the express purpose of making his personal acquaintance, and he had since received him at Berlin when charged with the semi-official mission which has already been mentioned; but that had been but a flying visit, and Frederic's anxiety was to have him permanently fixed at his court, though he was fully aware, not only of his irritable unmanageable temper, but of his enviousness and meanness. In 1749, he wrote to Algarotti, that "it was a pity that so base a soul was united to such an admirable genius; still that he had need of him for his study of the French language, and so he need not care about his morals." And, acting on this principle, he wrote him letters full of the most exaggerated flattery and the most magnificent offers if he would make Prussia his home for the future. Voltaire was well inclined to leave France, where a cabal in Paris, at the instigation of Madame de Pompadour, the reigning mistress, was decrying his merits, and extolling Crebillon as a tragic poet at his expense; but, being very grasping, and thinking that he could derive still greater advantages from the king's undissembled eagerness for his society, he haggled about the sums that he was to receive; till Frederic, though generally one of the most parsimonious of men, seemed at first to have

forgotten all his rules of economy in the emoluments which he had proffered for his acceptance, was disgusted with his rapacity; refused to increase them; and appeared inclined to transfer his admiration to Braculard d'Arnaud, a young poet, who had been originally recommended to him by Voltaire himself. He even wrote an ode to him telling him that it was no rashness in him to soar to the skies and to equal Voltaire; the Apollo of France was setting, and that his turn was come to illuminate the world.

Venez briller à votre tour,
Elevez vous s'il brille encore,
Ainsi le couchant d'un beau jour
Promet une plus belle Aurore.

He sent the verses to Paris, where they speedily reached Voltaire, who was in bed when they were brought to him. In his fury he forgot the refusal of his demands; "L'Aurore d'Arnaud," cried he jumping out of bed and rushing round the room in his shirt, "Voltaire à son couchant. Let Frederic stick to his government, and not presume to judge me. I will go and teach this king, *que je ne me couche pas encore;*" and in this temper he set out for Potsdam. He was received with delight by Frederic, and at first he himself was equally delighted at his reception. He was treated not as a courtier at a king's court, but as a friend visiting a friend. The apartments which were assigned to him, were the same in which the great Marshal Saxe

had been lodged, immediately under those of the king himself. When he was in the humour to do so, he dined and supped at the royal table; when he chose to be by himself, the king's cooks, his coachmen and horses, were all at his disposal. The only return looked for appeared to be that he should enliven the royal coterie with his wit, and guide his royal friend in his studies and writings. For Frederic was hardly more ambitious of distinction as a general and a ruler than as an author, and tried his hand at every species of composition.

Very soon after the Silesian war, he began a history of his own times, which, though not embellished by any very great beauty of language or depth of judgment or feeling, is written in a modest and impartial style, singularly admirable in one whose own actions and motives are the principal subject of his story. But his chief passion as an author was for writing verses, for which he had very little talent indeed. From this incessant occupation nothing could divert him; it was his amusement in hours of leisure, his relaxation amid the pressure of business; his refuge from despair amid the disasters and miseries of the Seven Years war. Hundreds of lines, the horror of men, Gods, and booksellers, were daily submitted to Voltaire's unsparing criticism, and few writers for their bread would have submitted to it with as much patience and humility as was displayed by the most powerful

or at least the most renowned sovereign in Europe. In his letters of invitation, he had promised him that as long as he lived he should be considered at Berlin "as the father of literature and of persons of good taste;" and, for a few weeks, Voltaire flattered himself that the allurements which had been held out to him had not been too highly coloured. But his self-love and vanity had prevented him from appreciating the character of Frederic. Those who knew him best averred that Lord Marischal Keith was the only being for whom he had ever felt a real friendship. However that may have been, it is certain that his ordinary companions had little reason to confide in the durability of his favour. Voltaire himself compared Potsdam to the Gardens of Alcina, and that sorceress was not more capricious than the Lord of Sans Souci. Whatever the talent might be which had originally recommended its possessors to his notice, they all sooner or later learnt to repent of their enjoyment of the fatal gift—

Conobbero tardi il suo mobile ingegno,
Usato amare e disamare à un punto,

and in the whole band there was not one with whom he was less likely to maintain a durable friendship than with Voltaire. Ill-natured practical jokes were Frederic's especial delight. He was acute at detecting the weak points of those about him, and at playing upon them without mercy,

and Voltaire had more weak points than any one else. He soon became discontented with the emoluments which the king had assigned to him, and sought to augment them by unfair encroachments. Frederic gave private orders that these should not be permitted. He complained to Frederic himself that his chocolate and sugar were not good enough, and were insufficient in quantity. His royal friend replied, that it was a pity that such trifles should distract so sublime a genius from the worship of the Muses; he would order them to be stopped altogether. Voltaire indemnified himself by selling the candles placed in his own apartments, and stealing the king's. Above all his other follies, was vanity and jealousy of other authors. Frederic again began to praise Arnaud's verses in his presence, and to encourage his company to extol other indifferent poets. Voltaire wrote satires and squibs on Frederic's chief favourites, and told thousands of lies to sow dissensions between them, and to conceal his own share in the mischief. He gave offence too of a different kind. Frederic had a high idea of the value of noble descent, and great family pride; and though this was known to Voltaire, he, on one occasion, ventured to address a declaration of love to the Princess Amelia; and Frederic chastised his insolence on the spot with a severe jest. He now began to speak in terms of abuse and disdain

of the king before persons who he knew would repeat his words. Frederic was nothing better than a corporal. He was Cæsar and Abbé Cotin united. Frederic with more reason pronounced him mad, and had one of his satires publicly burnt by the common hangman. At last, after a little more than two years' sojourn in Prussia, Voltaire returned to Switzerland, from which country he kept up a strange correspondence with Frederic: telling him that "he delighted in the abasement of his fellow-creatures; he had brought disgrace on the name of philosopher; he had given some colour to the slanders of bigots, who say, that no confidence can be placed in the justice or humanity of those who reject Christianity." Frederic replied that "it was well for Voltaire that he had to deal with one so indulgent to the infirmities of genius. He deserved a jail; his talents were not more widely known than his dishonesty and malignity." After the relief mutually desired from these frank and friendly expostulations, the correspondents became more reconciled to one another; and Voltaire enjoyed the triumph of loading the King with treacherous consolation after the terrible disasters of Kolin and Kunersdof.

His chief residence between the peace of Dresden and the Seven Years war, was the Palace of Sans Souci, which he built in the immediate neighbourhood of Potsdam, in 1746. In the same spot he

had a vault prepared, and lined with marble to serve for his grave. In one of his walks from Potsdam to the place, while the grounds were being laid out, he pointed out the grave to the Marquis d'Argen, his companion, with this comment, "Quand je serai là, je serai sans souci." And to this accidental expression, the palace owed its name, which was subsequently placed in golden letters on its garden front. There he spent most of his hours of peace; there he died; and in the apartment in which he breathed his last, the reverential affection of his successors has left all the furniture unchanged, in the exact state in which it was at that instant; fabling that even his favourite watch stopped the moment that he expired. The garden is not perfect in shape, but the circumstances which prevented its being so, are highly to the honour of a monarch in the possession of such despotic power as Frederic. On two sides it was bounded by fields, belonging in one instance to a poor widow, in the other to a miller, both of whom valued their paternal inheritance so highly that, like Naboth of old, they refused either to sell it for money, or to accept more valuable land in exchange for it. Most of the courtiers insisted that the king had a right to compel them to part with their land if he gave them an advantageous price for it; and Frederic himself was so much irritated with their refusal, that he said one day

to the miller, "Do not you know that I can take your mill from you without giving you a farthing for it?" "I know that you could, please your majesty," said the miller, "if it were not for the Chamber of Justice at Berlin." He was so flattered with the answer and with the compliment that it implied to his efforts to purify justice throughout the kingdom, that he abandoned the idea, and altered the plan of his garden.

In the ten years that elapsed since the peace of Dresden, Prussia made great advances in internal prosperity. Marshes were drained; great numbers of villages and small towns were built, and peopled with settlers allured from foreign countries, and skilful in foreign arts, which Frederic was desirous to naturalise in Prussia. The system of agriculture and the breeds of cattle were greatly improved. The internal traffic of the kingdom was facilitated by new roads and numerous canals; and, though Frederic was no friend to importation, which, in accordance with the political economy of the day, he thought injurious to a country by draining it of its money, he founded the Port of Turnemunde, and improved the other harbours of the Baltic; and established at Emden, a mercantile company, to trade with China, to embark in the whale and cod-fishery, and to export the productions of Prussia to other countries.

But this prosperity was about to be rudely checked. Maria Theresa had never forgotten the loss of Silesia; its recovery was the dearest wish of her heart; and circumstances now seemed likely to place it within her reach. Peace had brought her kingdoms also a great increase of riches and internal prosperity, and enabled her to make greater efforts than had ever been in her father's power, though his dominions had been more extensive. Very soon after the peace of Dresden she had concluded a treaty with Russia, by which, among other articles, it was provided that if Frederic ever attacked either Austria or Russia, she should be assisted by an army of 60,000 Russians, to recover Silesia; and besides her political obligations, the Empress Elizabeth had personal reasons for regarding Frederic with dislike, on account of the comments he was continually making in public on her licentious conduct. "Look," said he one day, pointing to one of his hussars, "that is the handsomest fellow in all Prussia. I am going to send him as plenipotentiary to Russia." The King of Poland was easily won over to join the confederacy. One more ally was wanted; it was plain that England and France would not be on the same side; and ancient recollections seemed to point to England, which, besides the memory of its previous enmity, had just received additional offence from Frederic, in the vigour with which

he had protested against engagements into which she had entered with Russia, by virtue of which, a Russian force was to be furnished for the protection of Hanover. The English ministers, however, had given still greater offence to the Austrian court, by the haughty tone which they had assumed as the saviours of the Empire in the Silesian wars; and by their interference in the family politics of the Empress-Queen. Moreover, it was plain that France was able to be of far greater service if she could be won over; but the difficulties in the way of such an alliance seemed at first sight insuperable. For more than a century it had been established as the ruling principle of French policy to exert all its endeavours to bridle the House of Hapsburg. With Austria, France had many points of antagonism: with Prussia none: with Austria, the oldest history recorded no union: with Prussia, France had been allied in the last war, and, since the last war, had been united by a treaty of close confederacy, which, though on the point of expiring, was naturally expected to be renewed almost as a matter of course.

These weighty considerations were to yield to personal pique, and to the genius of one man. Before the end of the last war some sharp letters had passed between Louis XV. and Frederic, whom no motives of policy could restrain from exhibiting

on all occasions his scorn of the weakness and worthlessness of his confederate, and from uttering bitter jests on the faithlessness and profligacy of his mistress. The Austrian ambassador at Berlin took care that neither Elizabeth nor Madame de Pompadour should be left in ignorance of the language which was habitually held concerning them, at the royal table; and the French mistress was nearly as powerful as the Russian empress.

The new Austrian minister was a man well able to take advantage of the openings thus afforded him. No small portion of the disasters which had befallen Maria Theresa in the first years of her reign, had been owing to the distractions of her councils and the weakness of her ministers; but in the year 1753 she, fortunately for herself, placed Kaunitz at the head of her affairs. He had previously been ambassador at Paris, where his polished manners and accomplishments had rendered him a general favourite; and where his penetration had given him a thorough insight into all the undercurrents by which the course of the French ministry was likely to be influenced. He represented to them with great plausibility that the policy so long pursued by both kingdoms had been a mistaken one; that neither had gained any advantage by the long series of wars in which they had been engaged; on the contrary, they had only been weakened and impoverished; while petty powers, like Æsop's wolf

after the battle between the lion and the tiger, had profited by their exhaustion, and had raised themselves at their expense. Such had been and such must be the fruit of their divisions, while, united, they might defy the world. Nothing was so important to France as an extension of territory on the side of the Netherlands; and that extension Austria alone could give, and willingly would give, when the proposed alliance had restored Silesia to the sceptre of the empress. A further temptation was added, which it is impossible to think of without amazement, and to record without shame. No sovereign of more dignified purity than Maria Theresa had ever shed a lustre on a throne; no woman had ever been more distinguished for all the graces and virtues which are the glory of her sex. Of all the mistresses who for a hundred years had made the courts of France and England infamous, the lowest and the most abandoned was the butcher's daughter who, as Marquise de Pompadour, at this time ruled king and court, and to her the proud and spotless Empress-Queen condescended to write in terms of respect and affection; to call her "princess," "cousin," "her dear sister," in the hope of recovering by her aid the territories which had been so unjustly and so treacherously wrested from her, and which were still so unceasingly regretted. Still, the creatures of the mistress, though eager for the alliance with Austria, hesitated at breaking entirely

with Frederic, when, at the beginning of 1756, they received information that he was negotiating a treaty with England, with which country, though at peace in Europe, France was carrying on an active war in India and North America. They immediately sent the Duc de Nivernois as ambassador to Berlin to remonstrate with Frederic against any such treaty as a violation of that still subsisting between himself and Louis; to persuade him to invade Hanover; and to offer him the island of Tobago, which, owing to the conflicting claims of France and England, it had been agreed to leave uncultivated. Frederic with a smile requested the duke to find a fitter person than himself to be governor of Barataria, and showed him the treaty with England which was already signed. There was no longer any pretence for delay; and on the 5th of May a defensive alliance was signed between France and Austria.

Frederic obtained early information of the danger which was impending over him. England was his only ally, and the irresolution and imbecility of her councils, which had just lost her Minorca, gave him but little encouragement to rely on any effective support from her, while the whole continent of Europe was united against him. His feeling was not very far from despair, and, with the resolution never to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, he provided himself with a speedy and sure poison,

which he continually carried about his person till the end of the war. His enemies were assembling their forces all around him; and, though their measures were professedly only defensive, he doubted not that they would attack him the moment that they felt strong enough. He determined to anticipate them, and sent an ambassador to Vienna to demand a positive and plain statement of the views of that cabinet; he did not want, he said, an answer in the style of an oracle: as his minister only received an evasive reply, he announced that he considered that tantamount to a declaration of war, and commenced hostilities by falling at once on the nearest and most defenceless of his enemies, the Elector of Saxony. It was not strange that he at first met with success; there was no single one among his enemies provided with so well-appointed and well-disciplined an army; nor was any other kingdom unencumbered with debt, while he himself was possessed of a considerable treasure accumulated during the years of peace.

The Saxon army was under 20,000 men. In the last week of August, 60,000 Prussians overran the country, blockaded the Saxons in their camp at Pirna, a town of great natural strength on the Elbe, a few miles above Dresden, and took the capital, pillaging the house of Count Bruhl, the king's chief minister, whom Frederic regarded as

his principal enemy, in spite of his promise that all private property should be respected; and by threatening the queen with personal violence, he obtained the State papers, in which he relied upon finding the justification for his apparently unprovoked attack. The evidence which they furnished, was hardly as conclusive as he had expected, especially as regarded the accession of Saxony to the confederacy against him; but it was proved that Austria, France, and Russia, had formed plans for the eventual spoliation of Prussia; and his minister, Count Herzberg, drew up a memorial to justify the commencement of the war, which, though the Austrian ministers published a reply to it, they were unable to refute.

The Saxons held out so gallantly at Pirna, that Marshal Browne had time to bring an army to their relief, with which he attacked Frederic on the 1st of October, at Lowositz; he greatly exceeded the Prussians in number, but, with great want of skill, neglected to avail himself of the advantages which the ground might have afforded him. The battle was stubborn; and Frederic, at one time, gave up the day as lost. The loss on each side was nearly balanced; but the Austrians were forced to retreat, and leave the Saxon army to its fate; it was compelled to surrender, and the greater portion of the men enlisted in the service of their conqueror. While in Dresden, Frederic had treated the citizens

with great humanity, and had gained great popularity among them by attending the Protestant Church, while their own monarch, Augustus, was a Roman Catholic. Now, however, that he was master of the whole country, for Augustus had fled into Poland, he levied contributions of both men and money with extreme rigour.

He wintered at Dresden, and at the beginning of 1757, entered into a new treaty with England, where Pitt had just become Secretary of State, though it was not till a later period of the year that he was able to exert the full power of his office. Meantime the enemies of Prussia were making increased efforts to render the coming campaign decisive. The German Diet raised an army to succour the empress; Russia and France greatly increased the contingents which they had agreed to furnish, if all promises were fulfilled; it seemed likely that the confederates would surround their prey with half a million of armed men, while the Prussian forces, with their English and Hanoverian allies, amounted to scarcely half that number. Towards the end of April, Frederic began the campaign by entering Bohemia with 30,000 men in four divisions, while Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Austrian commander-in-chief, was detained by illness at Vienna. He soon recovered, however, and joined Marshal Browne, who, with 45,000 men, was awaiting the enemy near Prague. On the 6th

of May the Prussians attacked them with great impetuosity, each army amounting now to about 70,000 men. The prince was seized with a relapse in the middle of the battle; Browne was mortally wounded; and the Austrians were defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of many prisoners and cannon. Frederic, however, purchased his victory dearly; there had fallen on his side nearly 18,000 men, and among them the veteran Marshal Schwerin, who, says his grateful master, in his History, "was alone worth 10,000 men;" other officers, whom he calls "the pillars of the Russian infantry," had perished. It was plain that he could not afford many such victories; but fortune had yet heavier losses in store for him.

Prince Charles, with the remainder of his army, threw himself into Prague; and, though the Prussian army was numerically far inferior to the garrison of that city, when reinforced to such an extent, Frederic conceived what Napoleon has pronounced "one of the boldest plans imagined in modern times," the idea of starving it to a surrender, as he had starved the Saxons at Pirna. Accordingly he surrounded it with fortified lines, keeping up a terrific bombardment, while Prince Charles remained, in patient obedience to his orders from Vienna, waiting for the succours with which Marshal Daun was hastening to his relief. Early in June they approached; and Frederic perceived that a

too great confidence in his superiority had exposed him to the danger of being completely surrounded. Leaving one division to maintain the siege of Prague, he marched to join the Prince of Bevern. When he had taken him under his command, he had with him 34,000 men; and with them he proceeded to attack Daun, who, with upwards of 50,000, was posted in a very formidable position near Kolin. It was the 18th of June, a day destined to become still more celebrated hereafter, as that on which a still greater warrior than Frederic was forced to bow to the superior skill of his unconquerable rival. The king carefully reconnoitred the Austrian lines: it was plain that he could only fight at great disadvantage; he was at a distance from any reinforcements; his enemies might be expected to gather round him in still more formidable numbers; and his only chance of safety lay in a battle and a victory. Soon after midday he attacked Daun's right, with an impetuosity that almost succeeded in breaking it; but the Austrians stood their ground bravely for some time. At last, the continued vigour of the assault made Daun begin to think of a retreat, and Frederic, allured by the advantages which he had apparently gained, altered his dispositions in the middle of the engagement; and the confusion which this caused was increased by Manstein, one of his generals, who, from misunderstanding an order, quitted his position

to dislodge a body of Croats. The Saxon cavalry took instant advantage of the opening thus made n the Prussian line, and fell upon their infantry, attacking it in front and rear. Burning to avenge the disaster of Pirna, they gave no quarter; and the battle was won. Frederic made vain exertions to retrieve the day. Six times he in person led his cavalry, his sole remaining hope, to the charge; six times they were repulsed and mowed down by the superior artillery of the Austrians. He tried in vain to rally his broken squadrons for a seventh charge. "Blackguards," said he, "do you want to live for ever?" But it was of no use; he collected forty men for one more effort, at last; they, too, fled. Still he advanced, till an English officer asked him whether he was going to storm the batteries by himself. Once more he surveyed the enemy's lines with his glass, and rode slowly from the field, directing Prince Maurice to conduct the retreat towards Nimburg. To that town he himself rode forward, and there he was found in the evening, seated by himself on the side of a well, drawing figures in the sand with his stick, and musing over the calamity that had befallen him, and on the best means of repairing it.

It seemed, indeed, as if it could hardly be repaired. At the beginning of the contest the odds were so much against him, that one defeat might have been expected to be ruinous; and one so complete as this

could hardly have been looked for by his most sanguine enemies. He had lost above 13,000 men; his guards were almost destroyed; he had lost his cavalry, which he had trained so carefully; he had lost half his artillery; and, worse than all, he had lost the chief fruit of his victory at Prague, namely, the reputation of invincibility, and his enemies had acquired confidence to venture on bolder measures. Fortunately for him, Daun knew better how to gain a battle than how to improve a victory, and allowed him to rejoin the troops which he had left at Prague without molestation, though more active conduct would have destroyed the last remnant of the beaten army.

No man ever lived more capable of taking advantage of the respite thus afforded him than Frederic. He soon recovered his spirits, writing to Marshal Keith, that it was natural for fortune to have turned her back upon him. "She is a female, and I am not a gallant; so she has declared for the ladies who are at war with me." He raised the siege of Prague and retreated into Saxony, but the divisions of his army with which he was not present, and especially that of his brother William, suffered terrible losses on their march. Misfortune had not yet done her worst: before the end of the month his mother died. He had at all times treated her with great respect and affection, and he felt her loss bitterly. In July all hopes of succour from the British and Hanoverian reinforcements were put an end to by the

defeat of the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck; and the convention of Closterseven, which that prince subsequently entered into, left the French generals at liberty to co-operate more immediately with their allies. In August, Prussia itself was invaded by a formidable Russian force under Marshal Apraxin. The Prussian general, Lehwald, attacked him with very inferior numbers: a severe conflict ensued, attended with nearly equal loss on each side, and Frederic's diminished army could not afford to fight drawn battles. Berlin itself was summoned by a corps of Austrians, and compelled to pay a heavy ransom to save itself from storm and pillage. Frederic was almost in despair, and began to think seriously of ending his troubles by a voluntary death; but with him such feelings always yielded speedily to braver resolutions. He tranquillised his mind by writing letters upon letters of bad verses to his different correspondents, and determined on one more effort to make head against his enemies. Besides the French army under the Duke de Richelieu, which was now set free by the Duke of Cumberland's defeat, another under the Prince de Soubise was advancing through Saxony, and was already at Erfurt. Frederic bribed Richelieu into inactivity, and marched against Soubise, whom he met at Rosbach on the 5th of November.

Military operations are so much guided by the natural circumstances of the countries in which they

take place, by the hills and defiles which afford favourable positions, by forests and rivers and roads which impede or facilitate the march of armies,—that it is not strange to find the same ground the field of battle in successive wars; but it is very singular how often the same day has heard the cry of battle raised by different generations of the same people. It has already been remarked that the Prussian day of triumph at Waterloo was the very same which had been so disastrous to them at Kolin; and that which now witnessed the disgrace of the French arms at Rosbach was, after the lapse of almost a century, destined to shine upon one of its most glorious triumphs, when, after struggling for hours against almost overpowering odds, Bosquet's gallant division and its British allies, a mere handful of men in comparison of the hosts that had assailed them, stood victorious on the hills of Inkermann, down which they had driven five times their number of enemies, who combined in vain the discipline of civilisation with the ferocity of the savage.

The armies met at Rosbach, but there was no battle. Frederic's manœuvres were novel and unusually skilful. Soubise had neither skill nor energy, nor even much courage; of confidence, he had more than enough. His numbers nearly trebled those of the king, and, on the preceding day, he had sent off a courier to Paris to announce the victory which he intended to reap, and the certainty of his making

prisoners of Frederic and his entire army. The moment that he was attacked he was seized with a panic, which communicated itself to almost his whole force. He had with him two regiments of Austrian cuirassiers, who, with an equal number of French cavalry, made a resolute stand against the charge with which General Seidlitz began the contest; but they were overpowered and destroyed, and the rest of the army fled almost without striking a blow. So instant and so universal was their flight, that there was not even time for the greater part of the Prussians, few as they were, to join in the battle. Frederic's whole loss in killed and wounded was barely 500 men; while he took 5000 prisoners, with five generals, and nearly all the French artillery and baggage. He treated his prisoners with great kindness, telling them that he "could not yet accustom himself to consider the French his enemies," and imputing his victory wholly to the incapacity of their commander, who had given them no opportunity of displaying their valour. He was not so courteous to all. He had intercepted letters from the Queen of Poland and Saxony, who was lying ill at Dresden, exulting in anticipations of his destruction; and now, in unchivalrous revenge, he caused the Te Deum to be sung under his windows, and salutes in honour of his victory to be fired at the back of her palace, and the insult, added to her mortification at the disappointment of her hopes, caused her death in a few days.

Without delay, Frederic marched against the Austrians under Prince Charles, who on the 22nd of November had defeated the Prince of Bevern with great slaughter, taken him prisoner, and compelled Breslau to surrender two days after. By a march of unusual rapidity, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Lissa, on the 4th of December. His army, reinforced by the remnant of the Prince of Bevern's, under Zieten, amounted to nearly 40,000 men. The Austrians were at least 60,000. His officers represented to him the danger of attacking a superior army so strongly posted. He replied that he had no alternative, but to conquer or perish. Daun in vain recommended caution to Prince Charles, who was persuaded by his flatterers that he was marching to a secure victory, and quitted a position in which he could hardly have been assailed with success, to invite the attack for which he thought himself amply prepared.

The importance of the coming battle prompted Frederic to use means to which he had never before resorted to encourage his army. He summoned his generals and chief officers around him, and, in a brief and energetic speech, roused them to the efforts which he expected of them, by reminding them of the glory they had already won under his banners. It was only that day month that, with greater odds against them, they had routed the French at Rosbach. His own determination was,

to conquer or to die. He was sure that they were inspired in the same resolution. Cravens might retire without reproach; but those who resolved to share his fortunes must be prepared to shed their life's blood in his cause. He dismissed them, bidding them speak to the soldiers as he had spoken to them, and without further delay made his dispositions for battle. According to Napoleon, one of his severest critics, the battle of Leuthen was his masterpiece. The Austrians fought with great courage and resolution, but Frederic's tactics at last prevailed. It was nearly sunset when his cavalry broke the squadrons of the enemy; but, when they did, the rout was complete. He had lost 6000 men, but the killed and wounded of the Austrians were still more numerous; and, besides the slain, 20,000 prisoners, and the capture of all the baggage and artillery, bore testimony to the completeness of the victory.

The effects of these victories can hardly be overstated; not only was Silesia immediately recovered, but they created such enthusiasm for him in England, where Pitt, now supreme over the whole ministers, was one of his ardent admirers, that he had no difficulty in concluding a new treaty with George II., by virtue of which he was to receive very large subsidies; and the King of England, annulling the convention of Closterseven, applied to Frederic to lend him Prince Ferdinand of

Brunswick, as a commander for the troops with which he was ready to co-operate with him.

The year 1758 was less marked by important events. Prince Ferdinand beat the French at Crefeld, and the Austrians under Loudon defeated Zieten, as he was marching to join Frederic. Frederic failed in an attempt to reduce Olmutz, and was compelled to retreat into Silesia; and the first battle of importance was fought on the 25th of August, against the Russians, who, under Count Fermor, had overrun East Russia; they had almost destroyed the town of Custrin, and were proceeding to attack the fortress, when the King arrived and compelled Fermor to fall back upon Zorndof, and to fight a battle. As usual, Frederic was at least one-third weaker than his antagonists. The battle was long and bloody, for, exasperated at the ravages which the Russians had committed, he ordered his troops to give no quarter. At last he defeated them, but not without losing 12,000 men of his small army; though he inflicted a far greater slaughter on the enemy, who retreated towards the Baltic.

Frederic now turned towards Saxony to oppose Daun and Loudon; but success had made him over-confident: the position he chose at Hochkirch provoked the remonstrances of his friends, and stimulated the enterprise of his enemies. On the 13th of October they surprised his camp by a night attack, and in a desperate conflict, in which Marshal

Keith was killed, and Frederic himself had a horse shot under him, they defeated him with great loss of men, taking also his artillery, tents, and baggage. As the disaster of Kolin had been followed by the death of his mother, so a day or two after the disaster at Hochkirch, he received the news of the loss of his favourite sister, the Margravine of Bayreuth, to whose pen we owe our knowledge of most of the events of his youth. He felt it bitterly, and consoled himself with a new kind of composition, writing a sermon in her honour. But he had no time to waste in unavailing sorrow. Daun, though through over caution he had failed to improve, as he might have done, the victory he had lately gained at Hochkirch, was still barring his way into Silesia, where an Austrian army had invested the important fortress of Neisse. It was of the highest importance to relieve it, but apparently almost impossible to do so, and quite impracticable without exposing Saxony to the victorious Austrians. Daun felt confident of success, and wrote to Harsch, the commander of the besieging army, that he could proceed quietly with his siege; that Frederic was cut off from Silesia, and that, if he should attack him, he hoped to send him a good account of the result. In fact, it was only by forcing his way through Daun's army, or by a very circuitous route, that it was possible for Frederic to reach Neisse. He chose the latter alternative; and, marching with extraordinary

rapidity, turned Daun's flank, crossed the Queiss, entered Silesia, and, by the mere terror of his name, drove Harsch into Bohemia. He then returned with equal speed to save Dresden, on which Daun had marched the moment that Frederic had left the road open. The suburbs were burnt, and the city was in imminent danger of entire destruction, when Frederic returned, and Daun, not caring to risk a battle, retired into winter quarters in Bohemia.

His victories caused the greatest exultation and confidence at Vienna. After the battle of Kolin, the Empress founded the order of Maria Theresa, in honour of that victory. And now, Clement XIII., who had lately succeeded Benedict XIV. in the papal chair, sent Daun a consecrated sword and cap, in the front of which was a dove embroidered in pearls, to encourage him to further exertions in defence of the orthodox faith against the heretical King of Prussia.

Frederic, however, attached more weight to his negotiations with England, which the successes of Prince Ferdinand on the Rhine, and his own victory at Rosbach had rendered unanimous in his favour. The English minister again granted him ample subsidies, by the aid of which he was enabled largely to recruit his army, which he did in all quarters; even in the dominions of his enemies, compelling his prisoners also to enter his service, and he likewise added greatly to its efficiency by

embodying a small brigade of horse artillery, the first force of that kind ever seen.

He began the next campaign on a more defensive system; gaining with his lieutenants some slight advantages over small parties of the enemy, but remaining with the main body of his army in his camp at Landshut. Meantime the Russians, under Soltikof, advanced in great force to the frontiers of Poland, to join Loudon; and Frederick sent Wedel to take the command of the army in that district, with orders to attack the Russians at all risks, in order to prevent a junction which would be so dangerous to his interests. His numbers, however, were unequal to the enterprise; and on the 23rd of July, he was defeated with considerable loss, and driven back across the Oder. The danger from the Russians appeared so serious, that Frederic determined to oppose them in person. He left his brother Henry in command of a force sufficient to hold Daun in check, and with the rest of his army marched to join Wedel. He had about 50,000 men under his banners, but Soltikof had been joined by the indefatigable Loudon, with a division of Austrians, and almost doubled his numbers. On the 12th of August, Frederick attacked him at Kunersdof. Hills, woods, and morasses, all lent strength to the Russian position, but such was the energy of the Prussians and their king, that for a while they carried everything before them. They

took prisoners, redoubts, and guns, and Frederic sent off a courier to Berlin to announce his victory. Had he been content with the advantages that he had already gained, the courier would have been a true messenger, but he desired to annihilate the Russians; in vain was it represented to him that his men were exhausted with six hours' fighting under a summer sun. He led them on for one more charge; as he advanced, up sprang Loudon with his Austrian division, chiefly cavalry, who had been held as a reserve; fresh batteries thundered on the advancing column; the Prussians wavered, were broken, and fled. A few minutes changed their apparent victory into a rout. The king himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. In vain he tried to rally his men, hoping at least to end his own troubles by an honourable death; but though almost every one around him fell, though his horse was killed, and even his clothes pierced by several balls, he remained unharmed, and was at last prevailed on to retire. From a miserable farm-house, which had been plundered by the straggling Cossacks, he sent off a second despatch: "Let the royal family leave Berlin, send off the archives to Potsdam. The capital may make terms with the enemy."

The loss of the enemy had been severe; but it was far exceeded by his own. He had lost nearly 19,000 men, and nearly all his artillery. Terrible as the defeat of Kolin had been, it was far exceeded in

distress by this. He might well despair; and for a day he did despair. It is clear from letters that he wrote to his friends, and the instructions which he drew up for his generals, that he intended them to be the last that he should ever write: that he was resolved to put an end to his life. And if his conquerors had followed up their victory and pursued his beaten army, it is probable that he would have done so: but it was his singular good fortune throughout this war, that those who had gained advantages over him never knew how to use them, and he was not a man to whom a respite could be given with impunity. Jealousies now sprung up between the Russians and Austrians. Soltikof's troops had borne the loss, those of Loudon had reaped the honour of the day. Loudon in vain pressed Soltikof to pursue the king, without delay; assuring him that he might easily make Frederic himself prisoner within three days. The Russian was immovable, and equally deaf to the remonstrances of Daun, who could obtain no other reply from him than that he had gained two victories with his troops, and now it was Daun's turn to exert himself.

Thus left to himself, Frederic soon recovered from his despair, and began to re-assemble his troops. The consequences of his late defeat were very serious—Wittenberg, Torgau, Leipsic, Dresden, all fell one after another. A ray of comfort beamed on

him from the news of the victory of Minden, which Ferdinand, who had been beaten on the Rhine in the earlier part of the year, gained over the French on the 1st of August. He was soon again at the head of 30,000 men. Wittenberg, Torgau, and Leipsic were recovered. He conceived the idea of cutting Daun off from Bohemia, and sent Finck forward with a powerful division of 12,000 men; but, before he could support him, Daun attacked Finck with overpowering numbers, at Maxen, and the whole brigade were taken prisoners. A few days later another smaller corps were forced to surrender at Meissen. Still, with his forces thus diminished, Frederic maintained his position, so as to cover Saxony, against Daun, who was unable to attack him with advantage: and the two armies went into winter quarters with their outposts almost in sight of one another. The season was one of almost unprecedented severity, and the Russians, as the historian of the war relates, "died in their cabins like flies." The Austrians suffered equally, and in addition to the terrors of the weather disease broke out in their camp.

Frederic again made overtures for peace; but refused to abandon Silesia; with singular imprudence, while seeking to negotiate with France, he continued his correspondence with Voltaire, sending him odes satirising the king and Madame de Pompadour, which Voltaire, who had never forgiven him

for their quarrel in Prussia, sent to the Duc de Choiseul. The English ambassador at Berlin, Sir A. Mitchell, wrote to his Court that nothing could equal the king's indiscretion, that he continued writing without reserve to Voltaire, who was employed by his Court to draw his secrets from him; and yet, at the very time he was revealing to him all his hopes and projects, he never spoke of him but as the man of the worst heart and the greatest rascal living.

Peace therefore could not be: so again he prepared for war. It was no easy matter to find means; but he laid his hands on the whole available resources of the countries in his power. Not only did he treat Saxony as a conquered province, exacting vast contributions of money, seizing the corn and cattle, and cutting down the woods throughout the whole kingdom; but even Prussia and Brandenburg met with no milder fate: the coin was debased, the civil officers were left unpaid. The whole country was drained of money, provisions, and means of transport: whole districts became deserts. Everything was made to yield to the king's determination to maintain his army in efficiency. He sought in vain to effect a division, by raising enemies against the Empress in Italy and Spain, where the death of King Ferdinand, and the consequent succession of Charles, king of Naples, to the throne, appeared

likely to cause important changes in the politics of those countries.

The population had been so thinned by the distresses of the war, that all Frederic's exertions did not enable him to muster 100,000 men around his standards for the campaign of 1760, so that tasks were assigned to the different divisions of his army, to which they were wholly unequal. Fonqué, who, with little more than 10,000 men, had to cover Silesia, was attacked by Loudon with three or four times his number, and every man of his army was either killed or taken. Glatz was taken immediately afterwards; but the Austrian commander failed in his attempt on Breslau. Frederic himself was at first not more successful; he tried in vain to recover Dresden, though he almost destroyed the city itself by the bombardment which he directed against it. He re-entered Silesia in the hopes of finding an opportunity of attacking one of the armies of the enemy with advantage. The celerity of his movements baffled Daun. At last his position at Leignitz appeared to afford the Austrians an opportunity of overwhelming him; and, on the 14th of August, they prepared to attack him the next morning at so many points, that it seems impossible that he could have escaped complete destruction, when all their plans were defeated by the treachery of an Irish officer in the Austrian service, who, offended at some imaginary injury,

deserted to Frederic, and betrayed the plans on which Daun and Loudon relied for success. In a moment Frederic quitted his camp, leaving his fires lighted to deceive the enemy; and, meeting Loudon's division with his whole army, which however was still inferior in numbers to its enemies, defeated it with considerable loss. The battle of Leignitz, however, was not of sufficient importance to impart any real strength to him, or to dismay his enemies. They proceeded to take Torgau and Berlin, where they seized on all the money remaining in the Treasury, and on great quantities of military stores; and Frederic, full of despondency, again began to think of terminating his life. He wrote to his old friend the Marquis d'Argens, that "his strength was leaving him; and, that to speak the truth, even hope, the only consolation of the unhappy, was beginning to desert him. He was like a mutilated body, from which each day some of its members are lopped off."

He determined to try one more battle; and on the 3rd of November, attacked Daun, who occupied a very strong position near Torgau. The whole day long he fought in vain; wounded by a spent ball, he had retired from the field; and Daun, who was likewise severely wounded, had despatched a courier to Vienna with the news of his victory, when, after sunset, Zieten found a road to the hill in the rear of the Austrians; seized upon it, and

assailed them again. Frederic in person renewed the attack in front; and the defeat was changed into a complete victory.

This was the last military event of the year, and the next year passed without any operations of paramount importance, the only exploit worth recording being the surprise of Schweidnitz by Loudon, which deprived Frederic of almost half Silesia: the political events were of a graver character. George II. of England had died in October 1760, and the influence which Lord Bute possessed over the young king, drove Mr. Pitt to resign office in the course of this summer. His retirement was followed by peace between France and England, which, in consequence, abandoned the alliance with Frederic. It seemed as if this new policy of England would set the seal to his ruin, when it was almost counterbalanced by the death of the Empress of Russia, since Peter II., who succeeded her, was his most ardent admirer. The new Emperor at once made peace with him, requested a commission in his army, and sent him a reinforcement of 15,000 men. As soon as it joined him in July, Frederic put himself in motion to oppose Daun; but he had scarcely matured the plans which this new alliance suggested to him, when they were dashed by a revolution in Russia, which ended in the death of Peter, and the elevation of his consort, so celebrated as the Empress Catherine, to the throne.

She at once broke off the alliance with Prussia; and ordered Chernicheff, the commander of her auxiliary force, to return to Russia. Frederic prevailed on him to delay his departure for three days, and in the interval, while his army was strengthened by the appearance made by the Russians, though they took no part in the operations of the day, he attacked Daun at Burkersdorf, drove him from his ground, and recovered Schweidnitz. This was the last bloodshed in the war. The allies of both Austria and Prussia had made peace, and they were left alone to carry on the strife; Austria was more powerful, and had not been so much distressed by the war as Prussia; but the Tartars of the Crimea, who had lately sought the alliance of Frederic, and had promised him a considerable reinforcement, threatened the Empress with hostilities, while the Turks were menacing the frontiers of Hungary; and influenced by these considerations, the Empress consented to make peace, which was signed at Hubertsburg, on the 5th of February, 1763, between her, Frederic, and Augustus of Saxony. Frederic retained his conquest of Silesia, but agreed to vote for the election of the Empress's son, Joseph, as king of the Romans; to evacuate Saxony, and to restore the archives and artillery which he had carried off when he first became master of Dresden.

Frederic returned in triumph to Berlin, which he had not seen for six years, and was received by the

acclamations of his people, who could scarcely contain themselves for joy at the termination of the war. The war, indeed, was over; but it was not so easy to efface the terrible memorials which it had deeply imprinted on all the countries engaged in it. No one had gained by it; all, except Russia, had greatly embarrassed their national treasuries: Prussia, indeed, had incurred no debt, but the specie of the kingdom was exhausted, the coinage was debased; enormous contributions had at one time or other been exacted from Berlin and other parts of the kingdom that had been in the possession of the enemy; and in things of more importance than money, Frederic's dominions had suffered far more severely than any country. We learn from the contemporary historian of the wars, that a great part of Pomerania and Brandenburg was changed into a desert. Large tracts of land lay uncultivated. The very seed-corn had been consumed, and famine and disease had swept away the herds and flocks of whole districts. The disease of the population was still more grievous. There were whole provinces where there was scarcely a man left, and where the most laborious agricultural work could only be performed by women; a traveller passed through seven villages, and only met one human being, the curate of one of them. It was computed that one-sixth of all the men in the kingdom capable of bearing arms, had actually perished on the field

of battle; while the ravages of famine and disease had been even more terrible and more universal than those of the sword. The glory of a successful resistance to such a host of powerful enemies as had threatened him with utter destruction, was the only consolation afforded to Frederic for the terrible misery which had thus almost overwhelmed his subjects. This misery he now, as far as it was in his power, set himself to repair with great energy, granting large sums to some of the towns which had been the principal sufferers, to enable them to repair their damages; making loans to the landed proprietors, and encouraging public works, especially roads and canals, to give employment to the people. He established also great numbers of manufactories, many of them for articles hitherto unknown in Prussia as native productions; and banks, for which he himself provided a portion of the requisite capital: he also induced English farmers to settle in his dominions, in the hope of teaching his subjects a more skilful system of agriculture. His ruling passion, however, still betrayed itself by the continual care which he bestowed on his army, and with which he augmented its numbers, till they amounted to a standing force of 200,000 men, and, more laudably, by the noble military hospital which he founded at Berlin, with the inscription—not more honourable than true—"Læso sed invicto Militi."

The Grand Seignor, whose warlike preparations had had no small share in determining Maria Theresa to consent to the peace of Hubertsburg, was eager, perhaps in anticipation of hostilities with Austria, to cultivate the friendship of Frederic, and sent one of his principal nobles, with magnificent presents, to congratulate him on the peace, who arrived at Berlin in the winter of 1763. Frederic had a most superb suit of royal robes made to receive the ambassador; but, when the time came, could not be persuaded to change his old hat, his brown misshapen boots, and threadbare uniform; and the Turk, whose whole retinue blazed with gold and jewels, could not restrain his astonishment at the little, shrivelled, shabby old man, who yawned undisguisedly while he was delivering his address. Nor was the Sultan the only sovereign out of the pale of Christendom, whose ears had been reached by the fame of the great king of Prussia. Some years afterwards a citizen of Embden was wrecked on the coast of Morocco, and the barbarian emperor, to testify, as he said, his love and admiration for Frederic, sent him and his crew back in safety and honour to their country, ordering his cruisers to respect the Prussian flag wherever they met with it.

Frederic continued his literary pursuits with undiminished eagerness. Maupertuis was dead; and he sought, though without success, to prevail

on D'Alembert to settle in Prussia as his successor in the chair of the Academy at Berlin. He also established numerous schools and colleges to promote education among his subjects, (though his own indifference to, and ignorance of, his native language was so great, that to the end of his life he was wholly unacquainted with the works of Klopstock, or Wieland, or Lessing, or any of those writers who had already vindicated the claims of German authors to an honourable place in the literature of nations), and it was with this view that he welcomed the Jesuits in his dominions, when their order was suppressed by Clement XIV. in 1773, looking on them as peculiarly capable of educating youth.

For some little time after the peace of Hubertsburg, he kept aloof from foreign politics, maintaining alliance with no country but Russia. England he regarded with great aversion, after the change in its politics towards the end of the war; and though his way of showing it was somewhat ridiculous, consisting chiefly in condemning a charger to which he had given the name of Lord Bute, to be degraded from his military rank and employed in drawing carts and water-barrels about his grounds; it was nevertheless a deeply-seated feeling which influenced him during the remainder of his life. For the French he had no more liking; and testified great joy at the successful resistance which the Corsicans at first made to their invasion

in 1769, drinking Paoli's health publicly at dinner. But when the war between Turkey and Russia appeared likely to lead to the great aggrandisement of the latter power, Frederic became jealous of her success, and endeavoured to take steps to check it, by contracting more friendly relations with Austria. The emperor Francis died in 1765, and his son and successor, Joseph, had conceived a singular admiration for the persevering enemy of his family, and had long expressed an eager desire to make his personal acquaintance. The wish had, hitherto, been ungratified; but this year he travelled incognito, and met Frederic on his Silesian tour at Neisse, where they had many private political conferences; and agreed on the conduct to be observed in Germany in the event of war breaking out between the western powers of Europe: and the next year Frederic returned the emperor's visit at Neustadt in Moravia, where more important measures were brought under discussion. While the two sovereigns were together, an application arrived from the Sultan, requesting their joint mediation between himself and Catherine, which they were willing enough to afford, as the Russian conquests of Moldavia and Wallachia gave great uneasiness to them both.

It was not probable, however, that Catherine would relinquish those territories without an equivalent; and Frederic proposed to the Emperor a means of finding her one, which should also give

himself an increase of territory, of which he was very desirous, with a view to consolidating his dominions towards the Baltic, and which, at the same time, should afford Austria a compensation for Silesia. He now, therefore, opened to the Emperor the scheme of the partition of Poland;* into which it seems probable that Joseph himself willingly entered from the first, though he did not communicate it at once to the Empress; and the next year Frederic sent his brother Henry to Petersburg to discuss the scheme with Catherine, who embraced it with alacrity; as it was certain that she would, any project for extending her dominions in any quarter.

Poland had long been in a state of almost irremediable confusion and anarchy; which had become worse than ever since the death of Augustus III., and the elevation of Stanislaus Poniatowski to the throne. Religious differences had added their exasperation to the disorders forced upon the country by its constitution; the Roman Catholics forming what they called the confederacy of Bar, from the fortress of Bar in Podolia, which they seized as their head quarters; and the Dissidents, (or Dissenters as we should call them), imploring the armed intervention of foreign powers. Catherine encouraged the Dissidents, and Maria

* In attributing the origination of the design of partitioning Poland to Frederic, I follow Coxe, who says that he derived his information from Count Herzberg himself.

Theresa the Roman Catholics, till the whole country became a scene of bloodshed and desolation. These circumstances completely disabled it from offering any resistance to foreign enemies. France, in consequence of a long series of misgovernment, was too much embarrassed to enter into a war in defence of abstract principles of justice, for objects in which she was not immediately concerned. England was beginning to be fully occupied with her unhappy quarrel with her North American colonies. And even Stanislaus himself, though attached as a Pole to the undivided nationality of his country, and, as a king, unwilling to see the finest half of his dominions severed from his crown, did not dare to throw himself unreservedly on the affections and loyalty of his subjects, a large body of whom had pronounced his deposition, and had even attempted to assassinate him. Catherine would have preferred taking her proposed share of Poland and retaining the provinces she had wrested from Turkey at the same time. But Frederic alarmed her with the prospect of such rapacity driving Austria certainly and perhaps himself also, to an alliance with the Sultan. While the negotiations were going on, a body of Austrian troops seized upon the lordship of Zips, on pretence of its having belonged to Hungary in former ages; and Catherine, observing that, "in Poland it seemed to be only necessary to stoop down in order to pick up whatever one wished,"

and fearing lest, if she dallied too long, her rivals would be before-hand with her, and would secure all the advantages for themselves, gave up her claims to the Principalities on the Danube, and signed the convention for the partition of Poland, in February, 1772. Frederic then proceeded to press Austria to accede to it, in accordance with the understanding to which he had come with Joseph: and, though Kaunitz was inclined to draw back, and would willingly have been contented with what had already been gained, he yielded at last, and the treaty was finally signed by the three powers on the 5th of August. Stanislaus and the Diet were partly coaxed and partly terrified into submission; and after some delay gave their formal ratification to the act, and appointed commissioners to carry it into effect. The portion which Frederic received was in extent inferior to that obtained by his confederates; but its situation made it of great value. He became master of the provinces of Pomerelia, Culm, Marienburg, and a part of Great Poland; and the possession of those districts, which had previously separated the kingdom of Prussia from Pomerania and Brandenburg, gave great solidity and strength to the whole of his dominions.

A more flagrant act of usurpation without a shadow of pretext, it is impossible to conceive, and the spoilers did not even perform the promises by which they had pretended to excuse it. They all

indeed, and especially Frederic, laboured to improve the condition of the territories, which had now become their own, and the task was easy, for no districts in Europe were in a more deplorable state. The soil, which nature had made very fertile, was for the most part uncultivated; the population, thinned by pestilence and civil war, was immersed in poverty and ignorance; the towns were in ruins; the courts of justice had fallen into disuse; schools had never existed. A few years saw roads made, marshes drained, the towns repaired, population increasing, order restored, and a solid foundation laid for the prosperity of the province.

But no means were taken to render that portion of Poland, which was left independent, more secure than before from the disorders which had afforded the plea for its dismemberment. On the contrary, by perpetuating the principle of elective monarchy, and of what was called the "Liberum Veto," by which any single member of the Diet could control all its proceedings and even dissolve it, the allied spoilers seemed to be providing for a future state of anarchy to give a colour to future acts of spoliation.

The alliance between Frederic and the Emperor was not destined to be of very long duration; at the end of 1777, Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, died, and was succeeded by his distant cousin, Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine, who had no children, and whose next heir was a very distant

kinsman, the Duke of Deux-ponts. The fiefs however, which had belonged to the late elector, were claimed by the Emperor as having escheated to him; and, partly by the terror of a numerous army, which he assembled without delay on the borders of the electorate, and partly by promises of making ample provision for the Elector's natural children, Joseph prevailed on him to sign a convention ceding the districts claimed, and the Duke of Deux-ponts promised his accession to the agreement; but Frederic was still jealous of Austria, and eager to prevent his aggrandisement in any quarter. He found that Catherine shared his feelings, and that the court of France, in spite of the marriage of the king to Marie Antoinette, was not very friendly to the Emperor's pretensions; relying, therefore, on the acquiescence of France and Russia, he prevailed on the Duke of Deux-ponts to withhold his signature at the last moment, and then addressed a strong remonstrance to the Emperor. The negotiation was carried on by a personal correspondence between the two sovereigns. Joseph tried to win his consent to the proposed measure by promising the connivance of the empire at his incorporating Anspach and Bayreuth with the Prussian dominions, but Frederic esteemed himself sure of these provinces eventually without making them the subject of a bargain now; and, with professions of moderation somewhat at variance with his previous

practice, expressed great disapprobation of powerful states parcelling out small ones for their mutual aggrandisement. He threatened war; and the Emperor, who had raised his army to a high state of efficiency, and had just confidence in the abilities of the veteran Marshals Lacy and Loudon, and a wish to measure his own military skill with that of the great conqueror of the age, was even more desirous of it than himself. Maria Theresa had viewed these proceedings with the greatest repugnance; and, even after the war began, opened a private negotiation with Frederic, in the hope of terminating it.

On the 6th of July, Frederic entered Bohemia with 80,000 men; but the Emperor with Lacy occupied so strong a position at Königsgratz, with a still more powerful force, that he was unable to effect anything against it. In another direction Prince Henry likewise invaded the same kingdom with an army of equal numbers; but he too was baffled by Loudon, who defended the line of the Iser with great skill. The campaign passed without a single action of importance; and in May, 1779, peace was made at Teschen, the Emperor abandoning his claim to the Bavarian provinces, except the district between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, which was ceded to him.

The Empress died the next year; and, five years afterwards, Joseph renewed his attempt to become master of Bavaria, offering Charles Theodore in

exchange the Austrian Netherlands; with the exception of Namur and the Duchy of Luxembourg, with the title of king of Burgundy; but his views were again counteracted by Frederic, who, never desisting from his darling object of depressing, and, when he could not depress, of at least preventing the aggrandisement of Austria, proposed to revive the league of Smalcalde, and to unite the principal powers of Germany in a confederacy to maintain the integrity of each respective state. His proposal was promptly acceded to by the principal states of the Empire; and a treaty based upon it, was signed at Berlin in July 1785.

With these exceptions, the last years of Frederic's life were peaceful and uneventful. He declined any participation in the confederacy to establish the principles of the armed neutrality which the Empress of Russia proposed to him during the war between America and England; and occupied himself solely in promoting the internal prosperity of his kingdom, living among his subjects with great familiarity, and encouraging them to seek access to him on all occasions. No man ever spoke more gracefully of the duties of royalty; he wished to secure, he said, and if he could only examine into everything himself, he would secure, the happiness of all his subjects. On one occasion some deputies from Greiffenburg in Silesia, the whole of which town had been de-

stroyed by fire, came to thank him for a magnificent grant which he had made them to rebuild the houses and principal manufactories. His reply was such as became a king, "You have no need to thank me; to relieve my subjects when bowed down by calamities, is my duty. That is what I am a king for." And he accounted for the rigid economy, on the observance of which he insisted in his palace, and throughout all the royal establishments, by urging that he required the money which was thus saved, to relieve the misfortunes of his subjects.

As he grew old, he became sadly afflicted with the gout; and the loss of his teeth debarred him from his favourite amusement of flute-playing. As long as he had strength he continued his yearly tours through his dominions, and his grand reviews, which, in August 1785, were attended by our own Duke of York, and a host of men of inferior rank; and the last day but one of this military spectacle being very stormy, brought on an attack of fever, from which he never entirely recovered. A few weeks afterwards he had an apoplectic fit, and before the end of the year he showed symptoms of a confirmed dropsy. He sent for physicians from all quarters; and among others, Zimmermann, at his earnest request, obtained permission from the Duke of York, to go from Hanover to Berlin to attend him. But no medical aid could be of any service to him. On the subject of diet he had been

at all times intractable, and his obstinacy on this point increased with his disease. After very protracted and severe suffering he died on the 17th of August, 1786, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign. He left no children; indeed, it is generally believed that he had never, at any period of his life, lived with his wife at all. He treated her with uniform courtesy, and spoke of her with invariable respect: occasionally he visited her for an hour or two at the palace at Schonhausen, which he assigned to her; but his own abode at Sans Souci she never saw till after his death. He was succeeded by his nephew, Frederic William, to whom he bequeathed a kingdom the extent of which he had doubled, and the revenues of which he had trebled; a treasury, in which he had accumulated a very large fund for future emergencies; and an army, almost the most considerable in Europe in point of numbers; certainly the greatest of all, if regard be had to its discipline, efficiency, and reputation. In his will he directed himself to be buried among his favourite dogs, of which he had always had several, in the garden at Sans Souci. His successor with better feeling disregarded this injunction, and laid him in an appropriate tomb by the side of his father, in the garrison chapel at Potsdam, where the army, which they both loved so well, still offer up its prayers above the body of its founder and its hero.

PARALLEL.

THERE have not, in the whole history of the world, been many men distinguished by greater and more varied abilities, than either of the two sovereigns of whose principal actions, and of whose characters, I have thus endeavoured to give some idea. Their achievements have placed both in a very high rank as warriors; both were successful statesmen; what is less usual in those whom the world commonly calls heroes, both were possessed in a very eminent degree, of that learning and of those accomplishments which are the embellishments of life, and qualify those who are endowed with them to be the ornaments of society. Their chief fault was likewise the same; an ambitious desire of extending their dominions, without regard to the obstacles which justice or humanity interposed, and a consequent fondness for war, which when influencing the conduct of a sovereign, is the most disastrous of all passions to his subjects.

The first war indeed, in which Philp was engaged, was purely defensive, and it may be that his success in that stimulated his military ardour, and prompted him to subsequent enterprises to be achieved by the

same means; but the attacks upon Amphipolis, the way in which he overran the Chalcidic territory, and those which he waged for the purpose of annexing the Thracian provinces to his dominions, were all measures of unprovoked aggression, equally unjustifiable with the Prussian invasion of Silesia; if the fact of the sovereign whom Frederic attacked having been a woman did not make his act peculiary unchivalrous and unmanly, while the deep obligations which he was under to her father, to whose remonstrances in his behalf he probably owed his life, stain it with the additional reproach of foul and almost unexampled ingratitude.

The military skill with which they supported their unjust pretensions, was of a very high order. Neither of them was invincible; neither of them is perhaps quite entitled to rank with the very greatest commanders of ancient and modern times; with Hannibal, or Alexander, or Cæsar; with Marlborough, or Napoleon, or Wellington: but the defeat of Onomarchus and the victory of Chæronea, were great exploits, the glory of which was attributable solely to the courage and superior skill of Philip; and the triumphs of Hohenfriedberg and of Leuthen, gained against most formidable odds, have established the fame of Frederic, as at least the first soldier of his age or of his country.*

* The preceding pair of lives in this series have been those of Epaminondas and Gustavus Adolphus; and it is singular with respect

Philip never committed such errors as Frederic, who alone, probably, of great commanders, appears to have had no original genius for war, and who, not only in his first campaigns gave no promise of his future eminence, but even after long experience, invited by his own rashness the surprise of Hochkirchen, and exposed Finck's division to the necessity of surrendering at Maxen: but, on the other hand, owing to the limited scale on which war in Greece was necessarily conducted, from the scanty population and narrow limits of the different states, Philip never displayed such ability in the plan and conduct of extensive operations, or such accuracy of combination, and never encountered such fearful odds as Frederic repeatedly overcame. Nor were Chares, Charidemus, or Phocion, rivals near as formidable as the Austrian marshals, Daun, and Lacy, and Loudon, every one of whom, whether in the conduct of a campaign, or in the tactics of a day of battle, was found in his turn to be far inferior to the decisive genius of Frederic.

They had other points of resemblance as soldiers. Besides their active courage, promptness, and energy, which enabled them to avail themselves to the utmost of every advantage; they were both

to the present pair, that in all probability Philip actually learnt the principles of war from the one, while the picture of the other was the only ornament which Frederic allowed to be seen in his bedchamber at Sans Souci.

largely endued with the still more valuable and rarer qualities of fortitude and perseverance under reverses. What Philip said of himself after one of his defeats, "that he only drew back like a battering-ram to give a heavier blow," was still more applicable to Frederic; for the worst misfortunes of the Macedonian monarch never approached those of Kolin and Kunersdorf; nor can the steadiness with which Philip retrieved his disasters on the Propontis and in Scythia, bear any comparison to the terrible energy with which Frederic consoled himself in the very same year, for his rout at Kolin, by the marvellous victories of Rosbach and of Leuthen. Both of them at times sought to lessen the miseries of war to individuals by acts of courtesy and humanity. Frederic's treatment of his French prisoners after Rosbach, and Philip's conduct to those Athenians who fell into his hands at Chæronea, would seem proofs of a native generosity of disposition, which is the most amiable of all qualities in a conqueror, if the picture were not defaced by the cruel severity with which the one oppressed Saxony during his temporary possession of it, and the pitiless inhumanity with which the other sold his Theban enemies into slavery, and reduced the flourishing district around Olynthus to the condition of a depopulated desert. If we hesitate to impute their conduct in the last-named instances to a natural ferocity which delights

in the infliction of suffering, at least it argues an indifference on the subject, which forbids us to attribute the opposite behaviour to an innate humanity; and we are forced to conclude that, whether cruel or courteous, their only rule of action was policy and a regard to their own interest; to be served at one time by conciliating, at another by terrifying their enemies.

Both were able diplomatists, and skilful in winning over the rulers of other nations to adopt their own views. Philip is accused, indeed, of having owed no small share of his peaceful triumphs to the influence of money, and the extent to which he availed himself of such means has become proverbial; it was an agent that Frederic also did not disdain, as in the case of the Duc de Richelieu: but the favourite means of both sovereigns were more honourable. Philip, on one occasion, showed that he was not afraid to oppose his own eloquence to the more practised rhetoric of the Athenian orators; and we have seen that his art not only, on more than one occasion, counteracted the efforts of Demosthenes, but even baffled the acuteness of that great statesman himself: while the address with which Frederic formed a league even from among the former allies of Austria, to prevent the success of her projects in Bavaria; and afterwards induced all the inferior States of Germany to unite in a confederacy, to

check any future encroachments on her part, is alone ample evidence of his possession of great diplomatic ability combined with great statesman-like acuteness and foresight.

Again, as civil governors both Princes are entitled to very high praise; labouring for the internal prosperity of their respective countries, for the reform of abuses, and especially for the purification of the courts of justice, with a correct appreciation of their duties as sovereigns. Here, too, the field for Frederic's exertions was the wider of the two, not only from the greater extent of his dominions, but because, if viewed with a due reference to the degree of enlightenment existing in Europe at each period, the state of Macedonia at the accession of Philip was far superior to that of Prussia when Frederic became its king: and, though we may neither approve of his overturning the well-considered legal decisions pronounced by those who had made the law the study of their lives, nor of the violence with which he insulted the judges, whose sentence, after all, was, in more instances than one, more equitable than his own; and though likewise we may also be of opinion that his endeavours to produce commercial prosperity would have been more successful if he had been less eager to take everything into his own hands, and had trusted more to private enterprise and to the stimulus of competition; yet, in his

reversal of his judges' decisions, he honestly believed that he was shielding the poor from the tyranny of the rich, who were seeking immunity by undue and corrupt influence; and if his political economy was faulty, we must remember that the principles of that science have never been as well understood on the Continent as in England. Nor should we withhold our warm approval from views of justice and humanity carried out with evident sincerity of purpose, because another country and a later age have attained to a better knowledge of the principles of action calculated to give such views their fullest effect.

The rule acknowledged by both sovereigns was the same, that to labour for the benefit of their subjects was a duty imposed upon them by their situation; Frederic professed it when he made answer to the deputies of Greiffenberg, that it was for the object of relieving the calamities of his people that he was what he was; and Philip owned the same truth even more forcibly when he submitted to the reproof, that if he had no time to do justice, he had no time to be a king.

It has been already said, that both were men of learning and eminent personal accomplishments; but, in this respect, the Macedonian has a great superiority over his rival, if not in his own abilities or his exercise of them, at least in the encouragement which he gave to learning in others, and in the

the judiciousness of his efforts to promote education among his people. The wisest and ablest men of Greece found a welcome at the court of Pella; but at that of Potsdam the native language of Prussia was proscribed. The capricious favour which Frederic did show to scholars, was reserved wholly for foreigners, and the treatment which even they experienced forms a not very favourable contrast to the steady protection which was bestowed by Philip on Lysimachus, Aristotle, and the other learned men whom he had gathered around him. Great allowance should, no doubt, be made for Frederic, whose temper had been soured by the cruel treatment to which he had been subjected in his youth: in that respect Philip was more fortunate; who, having early learnt lessons of wisdom and moderation from the example of some of the best and wisest men who ever did honour to the Greek nation, in the maturity of his manhood showed that he had not forgotten them.

Both monarchs greatly increased the extent and resources of their respective nations. It was owing to the vigour and policy of Philip's reign, that his heroic son was able to traverse Asia, and hurl the Persian despot from his throne: it was the energy of Frederic's administration, and the greatly increased power which he left to his successors, that enabled his country in the succeeding generation to endure without utter extinction the defeats which

she received from Napoleon and the iron despotism under which he bound her for a time, to renew the struggle at the first favourable opportunity, and at last to bear a share in the triumph which overthrew the tyrant, and restored peace to Europe.

We may not omit that Philip, on all occasions, testified his reverence for the religion of his country; though sometimes he undoubtedly made his religious zeal a pretence for furthering his views of political aggrandisement: while Frederic, though living when God had vouchsafed to the world a purer light than was enjoyed by the heathen ruler, was an avowed scoffer and infidel, delighting to turn the holiest ceremonies into profane ridicule, and to encourage those above all others, who directed their fatal talents to the same unholy end.

Looking at the wider sphere of action in which he moved, at the greater obstacles against which he successfully contended, at the brilliancy of some of his exploits, at his fortitude and fertility of resource when surrounded by the most imminent dangers and by the most terrible disasters, we may probably pronounce that though both were great, yet Frederic was the greater king. Remembering the unworthy pettiness of his conduct on many occasions, his faithlessness in friendship, his ingratitude, his irreligion, we may with less hesitation decide that Philip was the better man.

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